

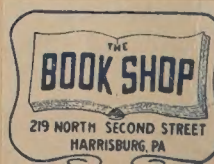
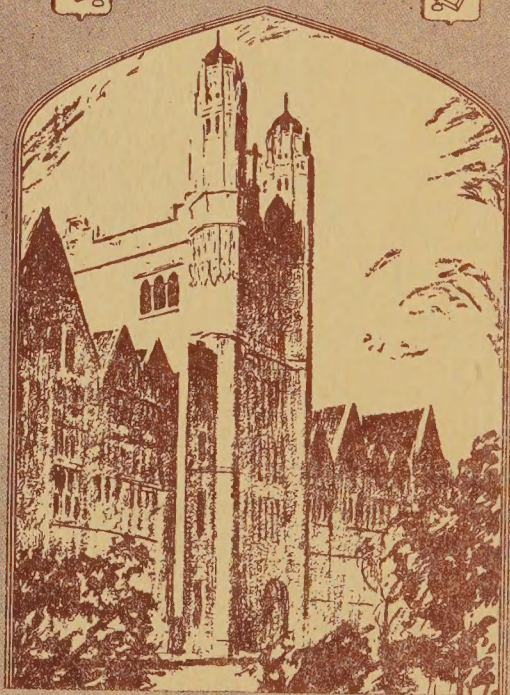
A HISTORY OF MUSIC



PAUL LANDORMY

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A HISTORY OF MUSIC

A HISTORY OF MUSIC

BY
PAUL LANDORMY

TRANSLATED, WITH A SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER
ON AMERICAN MUSIC

BY
FREDERICK H. MARTENS

"Music is the song of the ages and the
flower of history; it grows out of the
sorrows as well as the joys of humanity."

—ROMAIN ROLLAND

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS
NEW YORK • LONDON
1923

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Printed in the United States of America

Published September, 1923



TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

IN Englishing M. Landormy's admirable *Histoire de la Musique*, the translator has taken no liberties with the author's ideas or their presentation, presenting any queries or commentaries suggesting themselves in the shape of foot-notes. He has, however, added to the "Bibliographies" with which each chapter closes, and which are intended for the convenience of the reader who wishes to inform himself still further with regard to the subjects considered. The reader of the book, in many cases, must of necessity have recourse to works written in English, and the addition of titles of works in his own language seemed essential.

The supplementary chapter on American music is intended to round out the volume in a logical manner, and give it a completeness which—from an American point of view, at any rate—it could not otherwise hope to possess.

FREDERICK H. MARTENS.

FOREWORD

The task of endeavoring to resume in a few hundred pages the immense material of an evolution such as that represented by the art of music is a disillusionizing one. A work of the kind must necessarily be incomplete, owing to its very nature. In it we can do no more than underline a few salient facts, sketch the outlines of a few great figures, indicate a few important transitions. The real difficulty lies in deciding what may be neglected without doing too much harm.

So long ago as 1910, when this work appeared for the first time, the author was not content with it, and yet all that it was possible for him to do was to provide detail corrections for the editions which have appeared in succession up to the year 1920.

In this new edition, however, his object has been to improve, so far as possible, imperfections whose traces he cannot flatter himself he has entirely removed. The general expository plan has been modified. Entire chapters have been added to those already in existence, while others have been completely rewritten. The enumeration of names, works, facts, and dates has been considerably extended, and now completes the work to the year 1923. It is, practically, a new work which the author offers the public, and in this its present dispensation, he has gratefully availed himself of valuable advice due to the friendship of some of the most eminent French musicologists.*

PAUL LANDORMY.

* The names of Charles Van den Borren, Bouchor, Chantavoine, Louis Laloy, Prunières, and Tiersot, in particular, might be mentioned in this connection.

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CHAPTER I

THE MUSIC OF ANTIQUITY

The problem of the origin of music is too obscure, and too much a subject of controversy, to justify an elementary exposition. Did song precede speech? Or was song, on the contrary, an imitation and an exaggeration of the natural inflections of language? Are song and speech two parallel manifestations of psychic life? We will not attempt a solution of problems so complex. We will merely point out that, no matter how far back we may go in the history of humanity, music is always in evidence. At first associated with the practice of magic and religious ceremonies, she gradually disengages herself in order to become an independent art.

The primitive musical instruments were the *voice* and the *hands*, whose beat scanned the rhythm of song. Then came the *wind instruments*, which, at first mere voice-carriers, soon turned into trumpet, flute, or oboe; and, finally, the *string instruments*, whose common ancestor was the huntsman's bow. In Chaldea a harp has been discovered which antedates the Christian era by thirty centuries.

How were these primitive instruments constructed? For example, in order to pierce holes in a flute, were mathematical rules the first to be obeyed? In other words, was the simple law that the same distance should always separate one hole from the next an *à priori* consideration? Or, on the contrary, did the makers grope their way, and experiment with different methods while seeking above all else the gratification of the sense of hearing? We will confine ourselves to mentioning these delicate questions, incidentally calling attention to the undeniable influence of the doctrines of astronomy and

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magic, and the belief that *sacred numbers* controlled the procedure of instrument making.

The primitive **scale** of the Chinese and Celts, the Japanese, Greeks, and Polynesians, and, perhaps, of all other peoples, is composed of no more than five tones, and no doubt originated because of the necessity of tuning instruments by fifths:

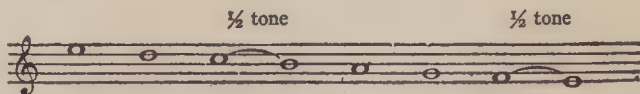


Four fifths (*F-C, C-G, G-D, D-A*) are sufficient, in this system, to determine the perfect tuning of every instrument. The late Camille Saint-Saëns, in his ballet music to "Henry VIII," employed an old Scotch tune, all of whose notes are borrowed from this scale.

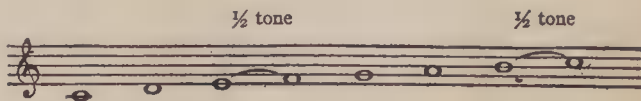
The *seven-tone scales* were used in antiquity by the Chinese, the Hindoos, the Egyptians, and the Greeks, with all sorts of differences in the manner in which the intervals were arranged.

We will content ourselves with here resuming the theoretic principles of the music of the **ancient Greeks**.

The fundamental scale of the Greeks of antiquity was the Dorian scale:



It is interesting to observe its resemblance to our own major scale:



While our scale, however, is essentially an *ascending* one, the Dorian scale is essentially one which *descends*: to ascend the Dorian scale, from the Greek point of view, was to turn it upside-down. The position of the half-tones is the same in the two scales, if we consider each scale in its direct and not its

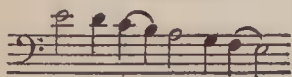
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inverse sense. We should not forget that a scale is a *melodic movement*, that the direction of this movement depends on the attraction existing among the tones, and, in consequence, the determination of the position of the half-tones.

Our scale has a *tonic* which is its first step. Yet the notation of the tonic makes sense only from the modern harmonic point of view. Harmony, as we understand it, was unknown to the Greeks. Hence their scale had no tonic. Nevertheless one tone in it played a dominant part: the *mediant*. In the Dorian scale the mediant was *A*. Its name came from its almost central position, and its importance, no doubt, was due to the fact that the majority of the melodic relations were either directly or indirectly apparent in connection with it. Therefore the Dorian scale sounded to Greek ears somewhat as our own *A-minor scale* does to ours.

The Dorian scale is the fixed ladder in the sounds of Greek music. Yet it underwent a transformation into a series of different scales or *modes*, according as its point of departure and its mediant were displaced. The seven Greek modes are as follows:

DORIAN



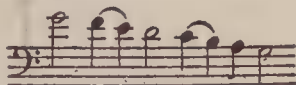
HYPODORIAN



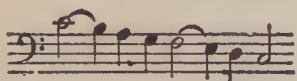
PHRYGIAN



HYPOPHRYGIAN



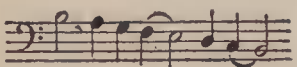
LYDIAN



HYPOLYDIAN



MIXOLYDIAN



HYPOMIXOLYDIAN

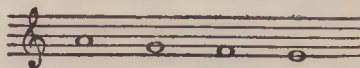


Just as we transpose our *C-major scale* and our *A-minor scale* into fourteen different tonalities by means of alteration in

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ascent or descent, the Greeks made use of analogous *transpositions*. They even knew how to *modulate* to the fifth below by purely melodic means.

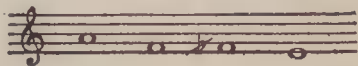
The Greek musical system, as it has thus far been explained, has been presented in its oldest form, the form known as the *diatonic genus*, because in it the strings of the lyre took the maximum of tension (*διατείνω*: to stretch), and it was characterized by the following disposition of the intervals in the lower tetrachord of the scale:



Complications, no doubt of Oriental origin, later made their way into Greek music, under the names of the chromatic and the enharmonic genus. The *chromatic genus* is defined in the following arrangement of the lower tetrachord of the scale:



The Greek *enharmonic genus*, altogether contrary to modern usage, introduces the subdominant into the scale. In default of more appropriate signs, we will represent it by an *F* followed by a barred *B* flat, the *F* lowered a fourth in the lower tetrachord of the enharmonic scale:



Greek music, like all the music of antiquity, was essentially *homophone*. That is to say, the Greeks did not consider the simultaneous production of two different melodies musical, and had no knowledge of harmony in the modern sense of the word.

When they sang in chorus, it was always in unison or in the octave, and even the doubling of a song in the octave produced when children's voices and men's voices are joined together,

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seemed to them a daring complication. The instruments which accompanied the voices confined themselves to doubling the voice part, though at times they added an "embroidery."

Ornaments or mixtures of sound such as these, however, had in no wise the character, nor did they play the part of our counterpoints and our harmonies.

The theory of *rhythm* was regarded as being of capital importance by the Greeks, and among them rhythm had attained a notable development, one whose like is to be found only in the most modern of our treatises on composition.

The *first beat*, which served as the basis of the system, was the smallest unit of duration, the *breve* (∪) whose multiple was the *long* (—), equal to two breves, its opposite. By combining longs and breves, various elementary rhythms, or *feet*, were obtained, corresponding to the "beats"* of our "measures," such as the iambic (∪ —), trochaic (— ∪), tribrachic (∪ ∪ ∪), dactylic (— ∪ ∪), anapestic (∪ ∪ —), spondaic (— —), and so forth. Metres were formed by combining various *feet*, just as our "measures" are made up of "beats."

The union of several metres created a phrase fragment or *colon*. The *phrase* itself was usually composed of two of these colons. These phrases were grouped in *periods* and the periods in *strophes*, which ordinarily presented themselves followed by the *antistrophe* (repeat), and the *epod* or *coda*. Very detailed and varied laws were applied by the Greeks to the building up of grandiose rhythmic ensembles, such as a Pindarian ode or a scene from one of Æschylus's tragedies, which show great analogy in their architecture to our sonatas and symphonies. These rules of construction were altogether ignored during the Middle Ages. Rediscovered—instinctively—by the great classical masters, they were, however, only set forth explicitly and in detail by modern theoreticians after the nineteenth-century discovery of the true meaning of the musical doctrine of the ancients.

The principal instruments employed by the Greeks were: the *lyre* or *cithara*, for a long time strung with seven strings; the *aulos*, a species of flute with mouthpiece, and the *syrinx*, a kind of Pan-pipe.

* Or, rather, the rhythmic figures which fill them.

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The Greeks were acquainted with purely instrumental music. Beginning with the sixth century before the Christian era, solo playing on the *aulos*, the auletic art, had become widely developed in Greece, and solo proficiency on the *cithara* was also coming into vogue. At certain solemn festivals great public contests between the most famous virtuosos took place. The plan of a Greek *nome* (the name given a musical composition composed according to rule) had been preserved. It was called "The Pythicon," and was a species of programmatic sonata describing the struggle between Apollo and the serpent Python.

It was made up of the following movements: (1) Introduction; (2) Provocation; (3) Iambic (combat, fanfare, imitation of the dragon grinding his teeth); (4) Prayer (celebration of victory); (5) Ovation (song of triumph). All the most celebrated instrumentalists of antiquity shone in turn in the execution of their "Pythicon."

Yet, although instrumental solo playing assumed an increasing importance in Greek social life, Greek music was originally preponderantly vocal. The lyric works of all the ancient poets were written to be sung. The Greek tragedy was largely a musical drama: The choruses were sung and danced, and a goodly number of the monologues and even the dialogues were also sung, especially at first, as, for example, in the works of Æschylus. And, as is generally known, the performances of the great tragedies, particularly in Athens, were official ceremonies and popular festivals, in which the entire city took part. This shows the place the art of music, in combination with poetry, the dance, and mimetics, held in ancient Greece.

When we speak of the dance in connection with the antique stage, we should not imagine that it resembled our modern ballets. It was dancing without virtuosity, without "solos," without couples (the ancient dance choruses were formed of men only), without rapid movements. It was a dance in which motions of the hands and attitudes of the body played as great a part as the steps themselves.

Unfortunately, none of the texts of Greek tragic music have come down to us. There only exist some 30 notes of the "*Oresteia*" of Euripides, practically nothing at all. All in all, our

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knowledge is confined to the rhythmic construction of the vast musical poems represented by the tragedies of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides.

The only fragments of Greek music which have survived the flight of time—aside from the passage in the "*Oresteia*" already mentioned—are: a melody set to the beginning of Pindar's "First Pythian Ode"; (c. 400 B. C.); a "lamentation" (*Skolion*) upon the nothingness of life; two *hymns* of the second century B. C.; and three *hymns* by Mosomedus of Creta (second and fourth centuries B. C.).

The Greeks attributed all sorts of virtues and marvellous psychic powers to music. Their philosophers minutely defined the moral character or expression (*ethos*) of each *mode*. The *Dorian* mode was austere, the *Hypodorian* proud and joyous, the *Ionian* voluptuous, the *Phrygian* bacchic, etc. Music of one kind roused the listener to valor and action; another disposed him to sobriety and restraint; a third inclined him to voluptuousness and pleasure. Music held a place of prime importance in the education of the young, and was considered indispensable in forming the character. Plato and Aristotle have developed at length the theory of the influence of music on the passions and the moral nature. They drew a careful distinction between the music which relaxed the morals and that which led the soul to seek the good of the individual and the community. They made musical education a matter of state, so to speak, and in so doing were in entire accord with their contemporaries. It was the duty of the state to watch over the maintenance of morality, and to regulate the employ of music to that end. Plato, under this head, suggests Egypt as a model: it was his wish that the songs which were absolutely beautiful should be determined by law, and that these only should be used in the education of youth. Did not the ancient Greeks call the melodies of their songs *nomoi*—laws—thereby indicating that they were type-formulas, consecrated formulas, which it was forbidden to change? And the fact proves the extent to which the musical art of antiquity still was affiliated with those magic and religious practices with which, in the beginning, it had been so intimately united and even merged.

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CHAPTER II

THE MIDDLE AGES

During the Middle Ages music ranked first among the arts. Saint Thomas Aquinas assigned it "the first place among the seven liberal arts," and regarded it as "the most noble of the modern sciences." At one and the same time an *art* and a *science*, it was taught in the universities side by side with arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy. At an early date its rules were rigidly fixed, and, in accordance with the spirit of scholastic philosophy, musical invention was considered a work of reason rather than an effort of the imagination or sentiment.

Yet it was this very need (at times exaggerated) of rational organization characterizing the activities of the Middle Ages with regard to music which was productive of excellent results. For in music it was a question of extricating polyphony—just coming into the world—from chaos, of fixing the measure of rhythm, of finding an exact notation to express the pitch and the duration of sound.

Nevertheless, the desire to remain faithful, cost what it might, to the conceptions of antiquity (which, incidentally, were often quite misunderstood) at times confused the minds of the theoreticians and somewhat retarded, in certain ways, the progress of musical technic.

Herein the church played an important part, and it is to religious music, to church music, that we must first of all give our attention.

* * *

The music of the **Christian Church** was derived from the music of the synagogue, modified by the influence of Grecian art.

The religious music of the Hebrews was composed of songs and dances with instrumental accompaniment. Introspective only to a very slight degree, it was above all loud and ringing,

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with a vital intensity which on occasion bordered on violence. It was perfectly adapted to express the overflowing lyricism of the Psalms.

The first Christians sang but little or not at all. Persecuted, they hid from their enemies, and songs would have betrayed them. If at times they dared hum some melody it was, at all events, unaccompanied by any instrument. Besides, their doctrine reproached the sensuality of Pagan music; in any case, it rejected both the chromatic and the enharmonic genus as being too effeminate. In the Orient, however, this was not always the case, and the power of local tradition overcame all considerations of a purely religious nature.*

It was, however, in the monasteries of the East that Christian song found its richest development at the very beginning: in Syria, in Chaldea, in Egypt. The biblical *Psalms* quite naturally supplied texts for the first chants which then came into use, and which soon comprised the following elements: (1) The *psalmodic solo*; (2) The *responsive chant* (solo and chorus); (3) the *antiphonal chant* (two alternating choruses). Then came those enthusiastic, wordless jubilations known as *Alleluias*. Finally *hymns* were written, that is to say, new psalms, in imitation of those found in the Bible, which, beginning with the fourth century A. D., were sung in Asia Minor to the accompaniment of hand-clapping and dancing.

In the Occident these hymns were received with special favor, and a number of them were composed there. Among the oldest we might cite the "*Pange lingua*" ("Maundy Thursday"), attributed to Fortunat, bishop of Poitiers (seventh century), and the "*Veni Creator*," supposed to have been written by Charlemagne. These hymns pleased the multitude because of their "tonic" instead of "metric" versification, one far more easily grasped by ears not oversensitive. In this "tonic" versification attention was paid only to the alternation of the accents in the verse measure and not to the values—longer or shorter, as the case might be—of each syllable.

* It was due to the influence of Guy d'Arezzo, in the eleventh century, that all which was not diatonic in church song was absolutely and definitely suppressed.

THE MIDDLE AGES

The Greek Church played an important part in the transmission of Oriental influences to the Occident. It gave its stamp to the chants which reached it from Asia and which, incidentally, were again transformed when they made their way into Rome or Gaul. A different liturgy took shape in each country, in Chaldea and in Syria, in Greece, in Italy, in Gaul, in Spain; and the music varied with the liturgy. The Christian cult, from the musical point of view as well as from others, was in danger of becoming diversified in such wise as to form an infinite number of modalities which might, at a given moment, have in some way compromised the very unity of the faith.

Great efforts were made to do away with this disadvantage. The ideal sought was a single Christian cult, and, as a consequence, a single Christian music. Several popes gave their attention to this difficult task, whose definite accomplishment was reserved for Pope Gregory, known as Gregory the Great.

Gregory I (pope from 590 to 604 A. D.) was the organizer of the unified church song, which thenceforward was called the *Gregorian chant*. He ordered the compilation of the *Antiphonary*, the collection of the only Christian chants which could be used in the regular ceremonies of the cult. The *mass*, which at first had been the office least provided with chants and which, little by little, had been enriched with music, thanks to Gregory the Great, finally became the most important ceremony of the cult from an artistic point of view.

Yet the Gregorian reform was not accepted without resistance. Notably in Spain, it was not recognized until the beginning of the eleventh century, and some churches, in spite of all objection, preserved their Spanish or Mozarabic rituals and the accompanying chants. In Italy, the church of Milan, whose musical traditions had been organized in an admirable manner by Saint Ambrose (d. 397 A. D.), refused to adopt the new promulgations, and in the sixteenth century, owing to the influence of Saint Charles Borromeo, ended by obtaining a definite recognition of the right to employ its own particular form.

Ecclesiastical music embraced a system of modes, like those of ancient Greek music, yet sufficiently different from them. The old Byzantine Church acknowledged eight modes, num-

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bered from high to low, from which all enharmonic and chromatic successions had been eliminated. The ecclesiastical modes of the Occidental system were numbered from low to high, and in the beginning there were eight of them:

FIRST MODE
1st Authentic Mode



SECOND MODE
1st Plagal Mode



THIRD MODE
2d Authentic Mode



FOURTH MODE
2d Plagal Mode



FIFTH MODE
3d Authentic Mode



SIXTH MODE
3d Plagal Mode



SEVENTH MODE
4th Authentic Mode

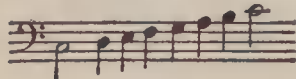


EIGHTH MODE
4th Plagal Mode



Notice that in the above table neither our modern major nor our minor mode appear among the authentic modes. It was not until the sixteenth century that they were introduced into ecclesiastical music, and that the system was completed in the following manner:

NINTH MODE
5th Authentic Mode



TENTH MODE
5th Plagal Mode



ELEVENTH MODE
6th Authentic Mode



TWELFTH MODE
6th Plagal Mode



THE MIDDLE AGES

Incorrectly assimilating them with the modes of antiquity, the following names were given to these twelve modes: (1) Dorian. (2) Hypodorian. (3) Phrygian. (4) Hypophrygian. (5) Lydian. (6) Hypolydian. (7) Mixolydian. (8) Hypomixolydian. (9) Ionian. (10) Hypoionian. (11) Eolian. (12) Hypoeolian.

Like Greek music, the Gregorian chant was *homophonous*. It was sung in a primitive manner, without accompaniment, and its extremely free rhythm was that of the prose, to which, in most cases, its music had to conform. It was a song without time measure, a sort of musical declamation. Each syllable corresponded now to a single note, again to a group of notes, which sometimes formed a genuine vocal exercise. But the ancient tradition soon was lost, and then the Gregorian chant became a *plain-chant*, all rhythm having disappeared, and the same value being attributed to all of its notes. By accompanying the plain-chant with massive harmonies the work of robbing it of all character was completed. We may easily obtain an idea of the degree to which the Gregorian chant was denaturalized, by taking *Rosina's* air in Rossini's "Barber of Seville," slowly singing the notes of the melody and the vocalises, giving each of them the same time-value, and accompanying each note by a consonant chord. This will afford us an inkling of the relation which existed between the plain-chant as it is now sung in the majority of churches at the present time and the primitive Gregorian chant. The papacy recently rose in revolt against this deplorable barbarism, and a *Motu proprio* was issued, whose object was to indicate a return to the old traditions which had been lost, as a necessary measure of reform.

The Gregorian art was born during one of the most troubled epochs of the world's history. It is difficult for us to conceive that the dismemberment of the Roman Empire and the great migrations, the overturning of antique civilization, wars, pillage, murder, and ruin were conditions favorable for the development of an art. Yet the truth remains that it was in the midst of massacres, pestilences, famines, and cataclysms of every sort, in which Saint Gregory saw the forerunners of the end of the world and the Day of Judgment, that there were heard

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for the first time those songs of peace and hope whose simplicity is so illuminating, whose emotion is so tender.

This art soon became popular and reigned throughout Christendom. "Charlemagne and Louis the Saint," declares Romain Rolland, "passed whole days singing or listening to these songs and absorbing them. Charles the Bald, despite the troubles of his reign, kept up a musical correspondence, and composed music in collaboration with the monks of the convent of Saint Gallus. There could be nothing more touching than this meditative art, this smiling florescence of music, in spite of and defiance of all else, dominating the rage of social convulsions."

Antiquity and the primitive church knew only *homophony*. The great discovery of the Middle Ages was *polyphony*. It was during the ninth century that this discovery was made. The philosopher, John the Scot (c. 800-877), in his work, *De Divisione Naturæ*, already alludes to the use of music in various parts.

The history of the beginnings of polyphony is very obscure. It seems to us that the following facts are those which stand out most clearly:

First of all, a distinction must be made between the two kinds of polyphony: *popular polyphony* and *scientific polyphony*.

Popular polyphony, altogether spontaneous, born of natural musical instinct and not deduced from preconceived theories, seems to have developed more happily than elsewhere in a land which, owing to its distance from the Mediterranean regions, escaped to a greater degree than any other the influence of the Græco-Latin tradition—England.

Hence it is that the scientific polyphony of the English is distinguished from that of other peoples by the employ of two procedures which are peculiar to it, and which must have been the heritage of free popular invention: the *gymel* (*gemellum*) and the *faburden* (*faux bourdon*), characterized essentially by the use of successions of thirds and sixths. Is there any simpler or more natural manner of conceiving polyphony than by doubling the song line parallel to itself by a melody which follows it step by step, at intervals of a third or a sixth?

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The **gymel** (*cantus gemellus*, or twin song), as its name indicates, is a two-voice song, in which the second voice accompanies the theme stated by the first, at the interval of a third above or below. The two voices should finally join each other in unison by contrary movement in the progression.

The **faburden** is a three-voice song in which a principal melody and two other parallel ones, in the third and the fifth below, are heard simultaneously. The melody, a fifth below, is so only in appearance, in writing, for the eyes alone, since this third part, which looks like a bass (or, as was formerly said, a "burden") is in reality only a false bass, a faburden. It was sung an octave higher than written, that is to say, it actually sounded a fourth higher and not a fifth lower than the given theme. Hence the faburden was composed of a series of parallel thirds and sixths.

It would be impossible to imagine the resistance which these simple procedures of popular polyphony encountered before winning acceptance by theoreticians imbued with Græco-Latin doctrines. The ancients did not recognize either the third or the sixth as perfectly consonant intervals. How scandalous it would have been to have admitted the legitimacy of successions of thirds or of sixths! Imperfect consonances, these intervals could only be tolerated in polyphony as exceptions, and on condition that they were resolved upon perfect consonances. It was only toward the beginning of the fourteenth century that the discredit cast by the theoreticians on the intervals they condemned in the name of ancient science ceased to weigh upon them. Walter Odington was the first to seek to justify theoretically the consonant character of the third, as well as that of the "perfect chord," until then unrecognized (1280).

In view of these facts it is clear that the first tentatives of *scientific polyphony* were productive of strange results. The stand taken to avoid thirds and sixths, and to admit as consonances only octaves, fourths, and fifths, gave rise to that polyphonic procedure which to-day seems so barbarous to us, and which was called **diaphony**, or **organum**. Diaphony, in the beginning, may have consisted in doubling the given theme in the fourth above or the fifth below, with the occasional addition

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of the octave. Yet it is possible that these successions of fourths and fifths were never actually used, but merely served as theoretic examples. In any event, and very fortunately, the fecund principle of *contrary movement* soon directed the gropings of the musicians of the Middle Ages into the domain of what later was known as counterpoint.

Nevertheless, how harsh and uncouth, at least for modern ears, these two-voice ensembles, from which thirds were almost always excluded, and in which only bare octaves, fourths, and fifths were encountered, would be! The dissonances which were later admitted in the *organum* did not contribute to soften their harshness.

The name *organum*, given to this polyphony just coming into being, leads us to believe that the part joined to the liturgic theme was at first executed by an instrument. The word *organum*, whose proper meaning is instrument, no doubt was applied to the instrumental part which was added to the liturgic chant. Hence, only at a later period would the step have been taken which led to vocal polyphony, to the *discant* (*discantus*).

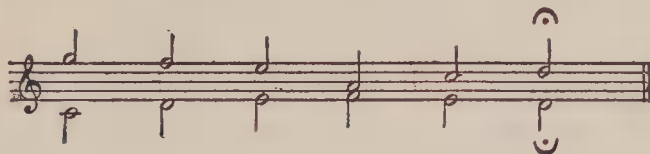
The primitive discant was a two-voice movement: one of these voices, that which followed the text of the Gregorian chant, or *cantus firmus*, was called the *tenor*, that is to say, the leading part; while the other, which was always placed below it, was known as the *discantus*; and in the end these two terms came to signify the high and medium voices. Later a third voice was added, the *contratenor*, which moved at times below, at others above the tenor, and which was soon divided into two different voices: the *bass*, below the tenor, and the *contratenor* or *alta vox* or *altus* (high voice), above the tenor. The *discantus* then assumed the name of *supremus* (the highest voice). *Altus* has become *alto* in Italian, and *supremus* was turned into *soprano*.

The discant is the origin of *counterpoint*. To tell the truth, this second word expresses the same idea at first; it means that against every note of the tenor there is placed a note of the discant, *punctum contra punctum*, point against point. Yet since this new expression was not employed until the beginning of the fourteenth century, it designates a far more advanced

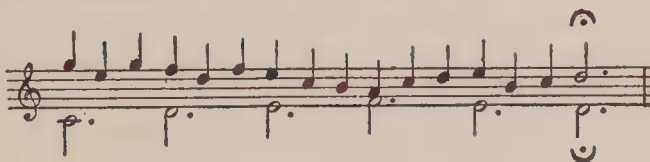
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state of the art of mingling voices or instrumental parts. Among the inventions which contributed most to the progress of counterpoint must be mentioned the following:

(1) The use of "passing notes," or *figuration*. The following example shows a counterpoint, note against note:



The same counterpoint, with "diminution" of the note-values, is shown in the next example: it is one given by Jean de Muris, a famous theoretician of the fourteenth century:



(2) The cultivation of *imitation*, a new principle which was to acquire its full measure of importance before the Renaissance, and which has not ceased to fecundate the inspiration of the majority of the great musicians of modern times. Imitation in counterpoint consists in using a melodic theme as a counterpoint, or else superimposing upon the theme itself, on its first announcement, a second announcement of the same theme, falling in after the first (the origin of the *canon*), or fragments and variants of the theme in question.

(3) *The use of parallel movement in alternation with contrary movement.* Counterpoint gained immeasurably in freedom and flexibility by this procedure.

At first the discant was improvised by the singer (*contrapunto alla mente*—song according to the book). But, as the discant became more complex, it was found necessary to note it down, and also to indicate its rhythm with exactness. How would it

have been possible for the various voices to have followed one another without taking these precautions? How would it have been possible to have avoided confusion and disorder? The stability of the ensemble had to be securely established.

Hitherto the **rhythm of the Gregorian chant** had been free and unconstrained, from a dual point of view.

First of all, it was made up of units of duration whose grouping was in no wise subjected to those symmetries which, in our modern music, we know as "measures." The *allegro* of a Beethoven symphony is written with recurring time beats, three or four, that is to say, the sum total of the composition is divisible into a fixed number of groups of values, marked in general by an initial accent, all equal among themselves, and all divisible into either three or four equal parts. These groups are known as measures. A phrase of the Gregorian chant is written without these two, three, or four beats. It is formed of a series of value-units impossible of distribution into equalized measures. The time would have to be changed continually, which is as much as saying that there is no time. Hence the duration of each note is not appraised in the Gregorian chant with relation to the duration of an abstract measure and each of its divisions. It is the duration of the *first beat* (*tempus primus*) which regulates the duration of all the other beats and all the other notes, these being estimated only by comparison with this initial duration.

On the other hand, it is clear that a rhythm which is not, properly speaking, mensurate or "measured," will not be very strict. It would be difficult to establish the relation between longer and shorter time-values with any degree of exactness. In our music a half note equals exactly two quarter notes; it seems out of the question to contend that in the primitive Gregorian chant a long was equivalent to two or three breves; a long merely lasted longer than a breve, just as in spoken language there are long syllables and short syllables, without making it possible to say that a fixed and invariable relation exists between the one and the other. Hence the terms "long" and "breve" in the beginning had no musical signification, but merely a *prosodic* one. It was just the primitive Gregorian chant which was to follow, in all its variants and dissymmetries

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the natural rhythm of language, and of language in its freest form of expression, *prose*.

Polyphony made necessary the precise determination of the value of every individual note. It was in the twelfth century that the *ars mensurabilis*, that is to say, "the art of measured music," was born. It motived a considerable progress in *musical notation*.

In the music of antiquity the notes were represented by *letters*. Before the Gregorian chant the use of **neumes**—that is to say, of small figures indicating certain melodic outlines or certain ornaments in a very obscure manner—and of points, representing the pitch of the sounds by the greater or lesser distance at which they were placed above the liturgic text, were in use. Then musicians hit upon the idea of drawing a line which stood for the pitch of a fixed tone, the *F*. The points were then placed on this line, above and below it, the note being higher in pitch or lower in pitch with relation to the *F*. And then a second line was added, the line of *C*. Finally, music was written on four or five lines, and the abbreviations of every kind with which primitive notation was encumbered were suppressed.*

But until the twelfth century the system of notation known

* Guido d'Arezzo (fifteenth century) certainly played a part in the invention of the lines of the staff. (He is generally regarded as the originator of the four lines—*F*, red, *C*, yellow, *A* and *E*, black, though the use of the colored lines was soon dropped.—TRANS.) He codified and regularized their use. On the other hand, he is erroneously credited with the merit of having given names to the notes of the scale by borrowing a syllable from the beginning of each line of the "Hymn of Saint John":

UT queant laxis
*RE*sonare fibris
*MI*ri gestorum
*FA*muli tuorum
*SOL*ve polluti
*LA*bil reatum
*SA*ancte Joannes.

These names existed before his time. The seventh note (*B*) was not given the name *Si* until the sixteenth century. Up to then only the syllables *Ut*, *Re*, *Mi*, *Fa*, *Sol*, and *La* were used to distinguish the six first notes. At that time, when it was necessary to mention the *Si*, the *Sol* was called *Ut*, for instance, and the hexachord *Sol*, *La*, *Si*, *Ut*, *Re*, *Mi* became *Ut*, *Re*, *Mi*, *Fa*, *Sol*, *La*. This very complicated system was known as the theory of *mutation* (*mutatio*, the change of hexachords) or *solmisation*, and was to lead quite naturally to the notation of the *tonalities* and to *modulation*.

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as "square" (the "square," from the shape of the note heads) merely indicated the pitch of the tones and not their duration. It is only during the twelfth century that mensurate, or *proportional* notation, which differentiates between the long (a square figure with a tail running down at the right) and the breve (the simple square), appears. This system of mensuration was still very inconvenient: in the first place, because of fantastic metaphysical considerations, the number three being regarded as perfect, ternary measure was considered the only permissible one. It was not until the middle of the fourteenth century that binary measure appears in notation and in theory. On the other hand, the *bar* of the measure, whose regular occurrence was intended to facilitate the execution of the choral ensemble, was not employed until much later, toward the end of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century. Finally, since in order to satisfy all the exigencies of an art growing increasingly refined, proportional notation became complicated, a point was reached where the value of each note figure was no longer fixed; but varied according to the general rhythm of each composition, and was only determined exactly by the character of the adjacent note figures.

It is evident that polyphony in its initial stages developed, during the Middle Ages, amid all sorts of difficulties. Nevertheless, it rapidly made considerable progress, and beginning with the epoch of Saint Louis was already an organized art which radiated its influence all over Europe, from Notre Dame in Paris. At that time three principal forms of polyphonic composition were known: the double, triple, or quadruple *organum* (two, three, or four voice), invariably constructed on a "given theme" of the Gregorian chant; the *conductus*, in which the composer set profane poetry to music and only used original themes; and, finally, the *motet*, a short piece comprising a tenor borrowed from the liturgic chant and an *organum* sung to a new poetic text, on words which were unanticipated (motet, little word, a small literary work). A third voice later was adjoined to the two preceding ones. The tenor part was in most cases played by an instrument, while the other parts were sung; for the term *organum* had already lost its etymological meaning.

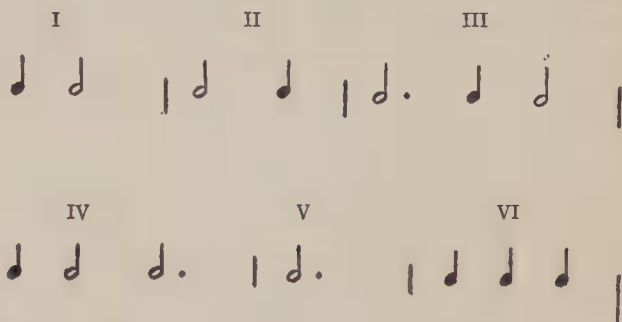
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We might cite here the name of Master **Pérotin**, surnamed "the Great," organist of Notre Dame in Paris (c. 1183-c. 1236), who may be regarded as one of the principal creators of polyphonic music. He was the first to write for three and four voices, and he continued the **Livre d'Orgue** (Organ Book) of his predecessor, **Léonin**.

Confronting the music of the church, scientific music, polyphonic music, the **trouvères** and the **troubadours** in France and other countries were the representatives of popular music, homophonic music. They were *poets* who, from the middle of the twelfth century to the end of the thirteenth century wrote (either in the *langue d'oïl* [French] or the *langue d'oc* [Provençale]) lyric pieces meant to be sung. In most cases they were composers as well as poets. Nobles or burghers, they were inspired mainly by the song of the people. Absolute melodists, they were the distant ancestors of Monsigny, Grétry, and Boieldieu. Some among them sang their own poems. Yet in most cases they intrusted the execution of their works to the *jongleurs*. His *vièle* slung across his back, his wallet at his side, the *jongleur* wandered from castle to castle, from feast to feast, in quest of generous patrons with an open purse. First he would play a *ritournelle* on his *vièle* (the ancestor of the viols and the violin); then he would sing, accompanying himself with a few sustained notes, and prefacing every strophe of his song by another *ritournelle*. In winter, during the season of fasting, the *jongleurs*, later known as *ménestrels* (minstrels, from *ministri*, *ministrelli*), attended the schools of minstrelsy, where they learned the rules of their art, how to play the *vièle*, and added new songs to their repertoire. *Trouvères* and *troubadours* did their part in the establishment of mensurate music. Owing to the very fact that they composed their songs to verses and not to prose, they were led to give their melodies a "square" form which reflected the regularity of the poetic original. (A "square" melody is one made up of an exact number of four-measure groups.) This was the direct opposite of the Gregorian rhythm, always unrestrained, always adapting itself to the exigencies of its prose. The *trouvères* and *troubadours* even sought to translate as faithfully as possible the variety of poetic rhythms in their

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melodies, and they laid upon themselves the obligation of imprisoning their inspirations within the compass of a small number of rhythmic formulas, whose choice was determined in advance, according to the nature of the strophes which were to be set to music. They gave the name of *modes* (not to be confused with the modes of the plain-chant) to the following six rhythmic formulas, of which the first four, in their eyes, represented the iamb, the trochee, the dactyl, and the anapest of the ancients:



The first two and the last two formulas express (in our modern notation) a measure in $3/4$ time; the third and fourth, a measure in $6/4$ time. A single one of these formulas had to be used from the beginning to the end of the same piece, and the only latitude allowed the musician was that of replacing, from time to time, a long unit by equivalent shorter values, but only on condition that a single syllable of the text be sung on the various notes substituted for the one long note of the formula. It is evident to what a degree this art was narrowed down by its regulations. And it is also clear that it must have played a considerable part in the formation of mensurate music.

The *trouvères* and the troubadours also contributed to the advent of modern *tonality*. They abandoned, in fact, some of the old Gregorian modes; into others they introduced changes, notably the *F* sharp and the *C* sharp and, instinctively obeying the law of musical attraction, they softened their phrase-endings by the well-nigh regular employ of a "sensible note," a

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sensitive tone; by bringing together the eighth and the seventh tones of the scale by means of a half-tone interval. This was called *musica ficta*, or "false music," music not conforming to rule but to Nature, which admits of accidents.

Then, too, we must not forget that at a time when inter-communication was so rare and so difficult between province and province and land and land; and when there were no letters, *trouvères* and troubadours and, above all, the *jongleurs*, travelled incessantly from north to south, from west to east, in France and other lands, not only everywhere spreading a knowledge of music and a liking for it, but also carrying the news from one place to another, telling tales of other customs and habits, describing other countries and, while they amused themselves, working to establish the moral unity of France.

The leading *trouvères* and troubadours were: **Marcabru**, **Bernart de Ventadorn**, **Bertran de Born**, **Gace Brulé**, **Montaldon**, **Colin Muset**, **Thibaut de Champagne**, King of Navarre (1201-1253), and **Adam le Bossu**, called **de la Halle**, born in Arras, whose play, "Robin and Marion," a little pastoral medley of songs, was represented at the court of Naples (1285), and who died in 1287.

The Germans also had their troubadours, the *Minnesänger* (singers of love), nobles who gave a free and unstudied rein to their inspiration, and whose artistic tourneys during the thirteenth century have remained famous.*

* * *

Instrumental music, in the sense we understand the expression to-day, there was none to speak of during the Middle Ages. In fact, we usually call music performed by instruments to the exclusion of the voice, and written with this mode of execution in view, instrumental music. This distinction, however, did not begin to establish itself clearly until the commencement of the seventeenth century. Until that time one might almost call all music *vocal* or *instrumental*, without any

* TRANS. NOTE.—There were troubadours in England in the times of the Angevin kings: Richard the Lion-Heart was a troubadour king; and in Spain the troubadour movement, while it declined in France, lingered on until the fifteenth century.

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or very little distinction. Nor, at that more primitive time, was the same large measure of importance we now attach to the difference between instrumental *timbres*, tone-colors, stressed. What was then written for the voice was also played upon instruments, on one instrument or on another, on the oboe as well as on the viol or the organ. Musical invention, to a certain degree, was independent of consideration of the means by which it was to be materially realized.

We should not exaggerate, however. It is probable that from the beginning the wind instruments were preferably employed as solo instruments, and the string instruments as accompanying instruments. On the other hand, at a very early hour, certain virtuoso effects, no matter how rudimentary they might be, exceeding the resources of the voice, were reserved for the instruments; and the most skilful instrumentalists did not fail to exploit them in short preludes or even in fantasies (improvised, no doubt) in the course of a longer development.

At any rate, it is difficult to speak with exactness anent instrumental music before the sixteenth century. The instruments then in use have disappeared. We possess hardly any musical texts of the Middle Ages which may be said to be specifically destined for instrumental execution. The only documents we can consult are the descriptions and the enumerations of the poets and those found in the chronicles. They supply little information.

A notable fact is the appearance, toward the ninth century B. C., of the *string instruments*, at first very clumsy, yet whose successive improvement and perfection was to lead to the birth of the great viol family and, later, to that of the violin. The *crouth*, the *rebec*, and the *vièle*, or *vielle*, are the primitive forms. (Be it observed that we do not use the word *vielle* in the modern sense. The term *vielle* to designate the instrument in which a resined roll, turned by a species of handle, replaces the bow, was not used until the end of the fifteenth century.)

The *vièle* was the most perfect instrument of the Middle Ages. At least it had the advantage of embracing the entire gamut of the musical scale then in use, from the low *G* of our violoncello to the *E* on the open *E*-string of the violin. The

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vièle even became the instrument universally used in the instrumental transcription of vocal pieces.

Besides the *vièle*, the organ, especially the portative organ, played an important part.

The *organ*, the most venerable among keyboard instruments, was the child of the bagpipe and the Pan-flute. Ctesibus (170 B. C.) is credited with being its inventor. The first organs were very small in size and had only from eight to fifteen reeds. They began to be used generally about the ninth century, and were employed in particular in teaching the ecclesiastical chant.

The distribution of the reeds or pipes among the *stops* seems to date from approximately the twelfth century. As the mechanism of the organ became more complicated it grew harder to play, so that during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the small boards which did service as keys could hardly be depressed by blows of the fist. The organ *pedals* did not put in an appearance until the fourteenth century, and the *reed-work* until the fifteenth century.

The oldest specimens of instrumental music which have been preserved do not hark back beyond the thirteenth century: they comprise, on the one hand, monodic dances and, on the other, counterpoints in two or in three parts on liturgic texts, intended to be played upon the *vièle*.

The earliest example of an organ tablature is to be found in a manuscript in the British Museum, dating from the first third of the sixteenth century.

The *vièle* and the organ were also used to double or replace the voices in the polyphonic ensemble.

A true instrumental style, however, was not to be formed until much later..

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CHAPTER III

THE RENAISSANCE

From the fourteenth century on, but especially from the beginning of the fifteenth century, the breath of the Renaissance infused new life into all the musical form created by the Middle Ages. Endeavor was multiplied in every sense to vary and extend the resources of music; modes, rhythms, and contrapuntal combinations were invented and, little by little, these procedures were placed at the service of expression. Attempts were made to "imitate nature," to describe its material aspects; yet at the same time composers essayed to transcribe the passions of the human soul (*affectus animi in cantu*, as Glaréan says). We have a triumph of technical virtuosity, a superabundance of material which seem bound to stifle thought and emotion, and yet thought and emotion in art have rarely given forth flowers more vital, brilliant, and varied.

This renewal, this renaissance of the musical art, seems to have been produced under the influence of the people's song, of spontaneous as opposed to scientific, of free as opposed to traditional art. In Italy its cradle stood in Florence and throughout the Tuscan land, where the habitude of monody was found in the songs of the troubadours and *trouvères*.

This new art (*ars nova*, as contrasted with the *ars antiqua* of the preceding centuries) was characterized: (1) By the alteration of the ancient modes, thanks to the introduction of the "sensitive" note, first regarded as a chromatic; and by the progressive fusion of all these modes in our two major and minor modes (sixteenth century). (2) By the perfection of the theory of counterpoint in which, notably, the interdiction of successions of parallel fifths and octaves makes its appearance. (3) By the formation of the harmonic style, which little by little disengages itself from the contrapuntal style, so that in the sixteenth century certain composers, such as Jannequin and Cos-

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teley, wrote various ones among their vocal quartets in long series of chords accompanying the soprano melody, a procedure which on occasion they alternated with counterpoint, when they did not use the latter alone. (4) By the establishment of an increasingly regular measure of duration and, finally, by the search for simple rhythms and symmetry.

This entire evolution did not occur without shocks, without opposition, and an occasional step backward, and in any event it developed very slowly.

* * *

The great musician of the fourteenth century is **Guillaume de Machault** (b. 1300, in the village of Machau, in the Ardennes; d. 1377). From the year 1337 on he was a canon of the cathedral of Rheims. He wrote 17 laïcs, 23 motets, a number of instrumental compositions, more than 45 ballades, set down in notes with instruments, 33 "ballad songs," and, above all, a four-voice *Mass*, which supplies a date in the history of the form. His influence was considerable, and extended throughout Europe. He resumed the entire effort of the French school during the Middle Ages, and prepared the coming advent of the Netherland school.

In Germany, during the fourteenth century, the art of song passed from the nobles to the burghers, the *Meistersinger* (master singers) who formed very important, close corporations, in which the rules of composition were established with a meticulous care that left nothing to chance or a free development of genius. The "master singers" were first of all skilful and industrious craftsmen.

Beginning with the first half of the fifteenth century, the masters of the new art were, above all, the Flamands: **Binchois** (c. 1400-1460), **Guillaume Dufay** (c. 1400-1474), and the Englishman, **Dunstable** (c. 1370-1453), who clarified the still greatly confused art of counterpoint; and, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, **Ockeghem** (c. 1430-1495). **Josquin Desprès**, his pupil, one of the most illustrious polyphonists of the Netherlands, whose masses served as models for all composers for well-nigh a century; **Heinrich Isaak** (c. 1450-1517), **Pierre de la**

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Rue (1492-1512), **Brumel**, **Févin**, **Gombert**, **Clemens non Papa**, **Jannequin**, the reputed author of the "*Bataille de Marignan*," the "*Chant des Oiseaux*," the "*Caquet des Femmes*," of the "*Alouette*," and the "*Rossignol*"; and, finally, beginning from approximately 1525 onward, **Willaert** (c. 1490-1562). **Goudimel** (1505-1572), who, no matter what may be said to the contrary, was never the teacher of Palestrina, **Arcadelt** (c. 1514-1557?), the delicate and charming **Costeley**, who was born and died in **Evreux** (1531-1606), and has made so attractive a setting of Ronsard's "*Mignonne, allons voir la rose . . .*," as well as the mighty **Orlando di Lasso**, properly Roland de Lattre (b. Mons, 1532; d. Munich, 1594), composer of 2,000 works in all forms, one of the most expressive musicians of this epoch, **Claude le Jeune** (1530-1564), and **Mauduit** (1557-1627), with their odd music, "measured in the antique style," music so vivid and flexible, must be mentioned. In Italy there was the divine **Pierluigi da Palestrina** (1526-1594), who created the purest and most perfect models of religious music; in Spain **Cristobal de Morales** (1512-1553), **Francisco Guerrero** (1528-1599), and **Vittoria** (1540-1608), and in England **William Byrde** (1538-1623), **John Bull** (1562-1628), and **Orlando Gibbons** (1583-1625).

All these composers wrote music in three, and especially in four and five vocal parts, without accompaniment. The instrumental accompaniment in any case merely consisted in doubling the vocal parts or in replacing the missing voices. Every part followed its own melodic design, which was supposed to harmonize with those of the other parts; yet, as a rule, the interest was preponderant in the upper voice. In order to enjoy such compositions, it is necessary for us to regard as non-existent all the habits which three centuries of opera and accompanied monody have imposed upon us; these are not chords underlying a theme to which we listen (in most cases, at any rate), but themes themselves, which evade, pursue, and interlace themes unsupported by any chord, and only enveloped by the harmony which their fortuitous encounters disengage.

The vocal quartet and the vocal quintet are the most favored forms of composition during the sixteenth century. They do not lend themselves equally well to every type of expression,

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being essentially impersonal and lacking dramatic character. They are, however, admirably suited to religious music. It was only due to marvels of ingenuity that the French, the Flamands, and the Italians were able to adapt them to their descriptive or lyric purposes. In this respect they developed the art of utilizing the voices, in one sense, far beyond anything accomplished at a later date. The employ of the orchestra and of solo singers has deflected modern composers from the study of the valuable possibilities of the chorus.

The forms in honor during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were the *mass*, the *motet*, and the *chanson* (song). The mass was divided into five movements, all composed *on a single motive*, and this motive was borrowed from the Gregorian chant or the popular song. We already have shown how prodigious was the art of development possessed by the polyphonists of the Renaissance. We have also seen how indifferent they were to the invention of original melodies. Their genius was devoted solely to handling in a thousand and one ways the material offered them by tradition. Their scientific musical structures fall short, at times, of being as expressive and moving as were, on the other hand, the simplest of melodic inspirations. And also the fact that the mass themes were in many cases those of popular refrains should be noted, as, for example, that of "*l'Homme Armé*" ("The Man-at-Arms"), which nearly all the composers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries used in turn. This mingling of the sacred and the profane may astonish us. Yet, to begin with, we must remember that it is quite in keeping with the manners of the Middle Ages. The "Festival of the Ass" was celebrated every year on January 14, in Beauvais, in Sens, and a number of other dioceses: an ass entered the church and took part in the celebration of the mass; couplets in the vulgar tongue were mingled with the liturgic chant, and the *Ite, missa est* was replaced by three sonorous brays. Yet it is hardly necessary to recall similar customs in order to explain the employ the composers of masses made of the popular song. As a matter of fact, the themes they used, deprived of their original words, drowned in polyphony, often changed in rhythm, became unrecognizable in the majority of cases. It

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was merely raw material which gained value solely through the form given it, and the part it played in the ensemble in which the individual element acquired æsthetic interest only in its relation to the whole.

It was in the *motets* (sacred) and the *chansons* (secular) that the polyphonists allowed themselves a free rein, inventing their themes and modelling them so far as possible upon the poetic text which they were transforming into music. Yet even here they preferred, on occasion, to borrow some well-known traditional melody. And the severe form of four or five part counterpoint was invariably the rule, as well as the exclusive use of the voices without instrumental accompaniment.

The **French chanson**, the scientific contrapuntal song which must not be confounded with the popular song, although it borrowed its themes from the latter, was largely spread abroad over all Europe. It was the style in vogue during the fifteenth century. It was the equivalent of our modern chamber-music. It treated all subjects, from the most humorous to the most serious, and motivated the writing of an incalculable number of works, among which many are quite remarkable. In Italy it gave birth to a very analogous genus, which was called the **madrigal**.

* * *

Germany at this epoch was still, musically speaking, a power of the second class. She imitated French and Italian music, and often clumsily. Soon, however, she was to take a more important place in European musical history, thanks in part to the *Reformation* and to the new spirit and usages which were introduced with the Protestant cult.

From the very beginning the Germans had evinced an unconquerable prejudice against the ecclesiastical chant in Latin. They preferred to sing their chants in the vulgar tongue. With the exception of the *Gloria tibi domine* and the *Kyrie*, it was difficult to burden them with words which seemed so strange, so far removed from their natural idiom; yet on every occasion they introduced the *Kyrie* into the offices, whence the expression "chant the kyrie" is derived.

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The Reformation in Germany drew for inspiration upon the profounder trends of the Germanic race, and gave birth to a religious art of quite a special character. First of all, the custom of encouraging the crowds of the faithful to sing in church in the vulgar tongue favored the formation of a monodic style, at the beginning accompanied by vocal harmonies, and later by chords on the organ, of a broad and simple character, the style of the *choral*.

The great reformer, **Martin Luther** (1483-1546), even outside the church was a great music-lover. "Music," said he, "is the greatest support of the afflicted; it refreshes the soul and makes it happy. Youth should be taught this divine art, which makes men better; and I do not regard the man who cannot sing as being a good teacher." He composed, or had composed by his friend, **Johann Walther** (1496-1570), those sacred songs in the vulgar tongue which appeared in a collection in 1524, under the title of *Geystlich Gesang-Büchleyn*.

The choral is essentially a popular form of music, which serves as a point of departure for all the inspirations of the great masters of German religious art. Yet these masters did not content themselves with reproducing, developing, and imitating the motives of the chorals. By virtue of one of the fundamental trends of Protestantism, the individualistic tendency of inward meditation and self-examination, each commented the religious texts (literary or musical) from his own proper point of view. Each presented his own view-point with its own modes of feeling, experience of life, doubts, fears, or hopes. This was no longer *the impersonal art of Catholicism*, the art of Palestrina, for example, in which the individual does not appear, is not divined, unless it be to submit absolutely to the authority of the church, and communicate in heart and spirit with all its members. In one sense Protestantism develops in a manner less mystic and more human.

* * *

Instrumental music during the sixteenth century began to develop an independence till then unknown. Little by little she freed herself from the sacrificial rôle of mere song accom-

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paniment which had hitherto developed upon her. Instrumental music now not alone ventures to transcribe dances and songs, but also enters into the domain of the imagination, and undertakes the development of the purely musical, unsupported by text or any extraneous musical necessity.

The initial essays in this new style were very awkward and timid; nevertheless they mark the first appearance of a profound transformation in musical art, whose entire balance is modified by the single fact that the voices play an exclusive or predominant part in it.

The true instrumental style was to be characterized by a *mobility* and *range* of which song is incapable. No voice can ever embrace the seven octaves of the piano, and realize the infinite number of runs and passages possible of execution on it. The formation of the instrumental style was largely determined by the employ of the **lute** and the **keyboard instruments**.

The **lute** was originally an Egyptian, later an Arab, instrument, which was brought into Spain by the Moors, spread to Italy and thenceforward, up to the fourteenth century, it took the place of our piano; it was the instrument for which all vocal compositions were transcribed, and which was universally used for accompaniment.) A species of guitar minus ribs, and with an arched back like a mandolin, its fretted finger-board was strung with eleven strings, and later (end of sixteenth century) with five lower strings, beside the finger-board, along the neck.

Toward the eighth or ninth century A. D. men hit upon the idea of adapting a **clavier**, or keyboard, to a monochord, and thus the ~~organistrum~~ (later known as the *symphonia*, *chifonie*, or *sambuca*), that is to say, the *vielle* in the modern sense of the word, came into existence. In this instrument the string was made to vibrate by rubbing. The first keyboard instruments whose strings were "pinched," *i. e.*, plucked or twanged, were the English *échiquiers*, which possessed several strings but not as many tones. Movable lever keys were used to obtain several sounds from the same string. The *échiquier* was succeeded by the *clavicembalo* (the *clavecin* was known from the beginning of the fourteenth century as the *clavicordium*), etymologically

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the *cymbalum* or *tympanon*, with a keyboard or *clavecin*, also known by its English name of *virginal*, which had as many strings as it had keys. Side by side with the *clavecin* the *clavichord* makes use of the process of *striking* the strings instead of *plucking* them. All these instruments were later to give birth to the *piano with hammers*, thanks to the researches of Bartolomeo Cristofore (1711) and Gottfried Silbermann (1753); yet it was not until the end of the eighteenth century that the popularity of the piano begins and causes *clavichord* and *clavecin* to be forgotten.

In addition to the *clavecin*, the *organ* gains in importance, especially in the Teutonic countries. The majority of works written for *clavier* could be played either upon the *clavecin* or on the organ.

A Spaniard, **Antonio de Cabezón** (1510-1566), was one of the oldest writers for organ and *clavecin*. He has been termed the "Spanish Bach."

It is beyond doubt that England was the country in which *clavier* music was later developed in the most remarkable fashion. From the moment on when the composer wrote for instruments alone he was led to develop, that is to say, he no longer contented himself with the simple presentation of a theme. The *variation* was the simplest form of development, and in this form the English wrote a number of charming pieces for the *virginal*. We might in this connection mention the names of **Byrde** (1538-1623), **John Bull** (1563-1628), and **Orlando Gibbons** (1583-1625).

The *lute* or *clavecin style*, or the **galant style**, as it was called, continued as time went by to differentiate itself more and more from the organ style. Born of the song and dance, the *galant style* was characterized by its lightness, by the clearly indicated predominance of a melody part, and by the employ of an indeterminate number of other parts serving as an accompaniment.

The *organ style*, or the **severe style**, imitated the style of vocal composition, ornamenting it, however, and strictly applying the rules of polyphony to it.

This distinction between the two styles was not always ob-

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served and, especially in France, the organists in most cases wrote their pieces in the galant style.

The oldest known treatise on organ playing is the *Fundamentum organisandi* (1452), by **Conrad Paumann** (1410-1472). It contains a repertoire of the methods to be used for transcribing (with the addition of the ornaments and *colorature* in fashion), music written for the voices or for other instruments for the keyboard. It also contains short preludes.

At the end of the sixteenth century, two important names stand out, that of the Italian **Claudio Merulo** (1533-1604), by whom we possess the *Toccate d'intavolatura d'organo* (1604), and the *Ricercari d'intavolatura d'organo* (1605); and that of the Dutchman, **Jan Pieters Sweelinck** (1562-1621), organist of the "Old Church" in Amsterdam, who offered the first examples of the great development to which the *organ fugue* was later to attain.

Together with the keyboard instruments, the *string* instruments continued to be perfected. The **violin** makes its appearance a few years before 1550. Up to that time the *viols*, then invariably played solely in the first position, and without any *legato*, only had been known. The violins were at first (and well-nigh to the days of Lully) reserved for dance music, especially that of the court festivals, because their sonority was less rude than that of the wind instruments, and nevertheless more powerful than that of the viols. For a long time the viols remained the instruments preferred by the best artists. Violinists, as a rule, were inferior in social rank to the singers and viol players. Yet little by little they made headway.

We have a collection, dating from the year 1529 and published by Attaignant, of "Six Gaillardes and Six Pavanes, with Thirteen Musical Songs by Claudin, Gombert, Jannequin, etc., for Instruments," and we possess several other collections of *Danceries*. These quartets for violins or for viols marked the beginning of the repertoire of instrumental chamber-music.

The *wind instruments* most used during the sixteenth century were the *trombone*, the *cornet* (of wood), the *bassoon*, the *direct* or "sweet" *flute*, and the transverse or *German flute*.

Up to the seventeenth century the *orchestra*, as we under-

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stand it, did not as yet exist. A large number of instruments were at times brought together for certain solemn musical festivities; but as a rule they were played by threes or fours of a kind, by *families* of instruments, without any thought of forming the synthesis of an ensemble of the various tone-colors represented. Choruses of voices were balanced by choruses of trombones, or choruses of viols or of flutes; but as yet not a single "chorus" of *all* the voices and instruments had been formed.

The most grandiose manifestations of this old-time conception of polyphony were realized in Venice by **Andrea** and **Giovanni Gabrieli**, uncle (1510-1586) and nephew (1557-1613). Their sacred symphonies already presage, with regard to the subjects treated and the extent of the musical means employed, the advent of the oratorios, the "biblical histories," and the "Passions" of a Schütz or a Johann Sebastian Bach.

* * *

It was in Italy that arose the great movement of ideas out of which was born a new theory of music, the notation of modern tonality and harmony, and the birth of the opera as a musical form. Italy is destined soon to become the instructress of Europe; she will provide examples a thousand and one times imitated. Yet it should not be forgotten that Italy owed her earlier musical education to the Flamands and the French, who, since the beginning of the fourteenth century, had not ceased carrying their masterworks and their teachings to Rome. When Pope Gregory IX re-entered the Eternal City in 1357, he brought back with him from his exile in Avignon a knowledge of the discant and a liking for it. And during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries we find the papal chapels made up almost exclusively of French singers. The oldest among Italian music printers, **Ottaviano Petrucci**, first set up his presses in Venice in 1501, with an inaugural edition of 300 songs by French, Flemish, and German composers. In 1516 **Andrea Antiquo** issued the *Liber quindecim missarum*, dedicated to Pope Leo X, an anthology of the works of **Brumel**, **Josquin des Prés**, **Jean Mouton**, **Févin**, **Pierre de la Rue**, **Pipelare**, and **Pierre**

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Rousseau. Before the arrival of the French and Flemings, the Italians knew no other music than their *frottole*, *strambotti*, and *guistiniane*, little pieces for three or sometimes four voices, very simple in structure, whose highest melody could easily be detached and played upon the lute. It was toward 1533 that a new style was founded, one analogous to the French polyphonic song, yet hardly more complicated than the *frottole*. This style was that of the **madrigal**, and its chief exponents were **Verdelot**, **Willaert**, **Arcadelt**, **Festa**, **Jhan Gero**, **Corteccia**, **Antonio** and **Leonardo Bani**, **Domenico Ferrabosco**, and **Cipriano di Rore**. To a certain degree the researches of these artists, as we shall soon observe, were to open the way for the inventors of monody with accompaniment and dramatic music.

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CHAPTER IV

OPERA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

On or about the year 1600, a veritable revolution occurred in musical art. A new genus, the *opera* (the Italian word *opera*, "work," signifies a musical work or composition in music) suddenly assumes so great a measure of importance that all the masterpieces of fifteenth and sixteenth century polyphony are quickly forgotten; the dramatic style invades church music as well as instrumental music. Another age begins.

There was such unexpected, such sudden progress made by this new young school that certain historians of music have refused to credit so brusque a change. What appears to us to be a revolution they insist on viewing as the outcome of a long-prepared and latent evolution. It is thus that Dr. Hugo Riemann characterizes the special aptitude of the Italians, the Florentines in particular, for the monodic style. He regards the creation of the opera as a harking back to the musical traditions of the Florentine school of the beginning of the fourteenth century. On the other hand, Romain Rolland recalls that long before the seventeenth century pieces which were sung or broken up by musical interludes were performed in Italy. Such were, in the fifteenth century, the *Sacre rappresentazioni* (sacred representations) and the *Maggi* (Maytime representations); in the sixteenth century, the "Latin Comedies" and the "Representations in the Antique Style"; and then, beginning with 1554, the *Pastorales*, of which *Angelo Ingegneri* said in 1598: "If it were not for the *Pastorales*, one might almost say that the theatre had altogether fallen into disuse. . . . They afford a most wonderful delight, either with or without choruses and intermezzos."

It is certain that there is no effect without its cause, and that in this sense, whether it so appear or not, the present is closely

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linked with the past—and contains within itself the germ of the future. The fruit which falls was destined to fall, and its drop was long before prepared in secret. Yet the fall of the ripened fruit is none the less an advent of importance, a sudden novelty; that which was not, is accomplished, and all is modified thereby. Thus, like a ripened fruit this new genus, the opera, toward the year 1600, detached itself from the ancient styles which had given it birth, and thenceforward led an independent existence.

Let it be clearly understood, however, that the invention of the opera was not that of the drama with song (a species of drama which had always existed during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance), but that of the musical dramatic style. The songs in the mediæval Mysteries, in the *Sacre rappresentazioni*, and the *Pastorales*, were in no wise dramatic; they were motets, chansons, or madrigals. And opera could not come into existence until the day when musicians discovered the technical resources without which scenic action, speech, dialogue, and the play of the passions could not be musically translated.

From this point of view one of the greatest discoveries was that of **harmony** in the modern sense of the word. Up to the end of the fifteenth century it was still unknown. Polyphony and counterpoint are not harmony. It is possible to mingle the voices, to superimpose simultaneous melodies, one upon the other, seeking so far as possible to preserve consonance, without, for all that, developing the idea of the chord. The chord for us has an existence independent of any melodic succession; it is a value in itself; it may be set down without support, as a self-sufficient entirety. It is able to dispense with a "linking" with other chords. For the musicians of the fifteenth century or the beginning of the sixteenth, the accidental meeting of sounds produced by polyphony could not be conceived outside the movement of the melodic parts. They had not yet thought of isolating these aggregations and regarding them as independent entireties. It was in this that the profound transformation which took place in musical art toward the end of the sixteenth century consisted.

The progress made in the manufacture of instruments and

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the consequent extension of their use contributed largely to this result. It became the custom to play all the lower parts of a polyphonic ensemble and to sing only the upper part, or even to drop the voice altogether. Notably when the lute was employed for reductions of this sort, the independence and melodic movement of the intermediary parts became altogether imperceptible, and thus musicians were led to regard all song which did not lie in the upper voice or in the soprano as an **accompaniment**. Finally it became the custom to use such means only to "support" the voice.

It is easy to understand that the invention of these new procedures was a necessary prerequisite to the formation of a dramatic style *to which the polyphonic tradition was opposed*. In the days of antiquity the Greeks had written musical tragedies; but theirs was the age of *homophony*. There was no objection to any person singing with entire freedom, and without any accompaniment, his grief, his joy, or his rage. In the seventeenth century, however, it was no longer a question of dramatic music of so simple a character; the reign of polyphony had made a greater degree of complexity essential. Polyphony, however, ranged all its parts on the same plane, so monody was obliged to reassert its rights to the first place, while it left the second open to polyphony or, at any rate, to the successor of polyphony, harmony.

We might add that the Italian *madrigalists* at the end of the sixteenth century, **Cipriano di Rore**, in particular, employed harmonies of a freer, more varied type; they introduced the *chromatic genus*. From this the step was taken to use *dissonances*, no longer as simple melodic transitions between the consonances, but in the guise of chords, and because of their own individual value.

The advent of the *chord of the dominant seventh* marks an important date in the history of musical technic; the cadence of which it is the elemental principle determines modern tonality (all the notes of the major scale, with one exception, are furnished by the two chords of the tonic and the dominant seventh chord); while *modulation* assumes its rightful character. And what a wealth of new resources is obtained for the expres-

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sion of the passions, for effects of contrast in emotion or action, for color in description!

Nevertheless, the older polyphony was not so lightly abandoned. Thus **Orazio Vecchi** (1550-1605) wrote *musical comedies* in the form of madrigals. These "comedies" were not performed; their subjects were merely explained by a narrator, and then commented upon musically by a choir and instruments. They resembled, in a way, programmatic dramatic symphonies in the style of Berlioz's "*Roméo et Juliette*," but were, above all, vocal. In them polyphony continued to triumph; the chords alternately expressed the sentiments of each personage; there were no solos and, when a dialogue occurred between two characters, the chords divided into two groups, representing the two interlocutors. Orazio Vecchi's two principal works are: "*L'Amfiparnasso*," a "harmonic comedy" (1597), and the "*Veglie di Siena*" (1604).

It is to the **Florentine Brotherhood** of musicians and music-lovers that the honor of having conceived the modern musical drama, the opera, is really due. *Giovanni Bardi*, count of Vernio, toward the end of the sixteenth century, gathered round him in Florence a group of musical artists who devoted themselves to a quest for new outlets of musical development. They wished to rediscover the simplicity of antiquity, forget the complications of counterpoint, unite poetry and music more closely, and compel all the arts to concur in the production of works as powerful in effect as were the ancient Greek tragedies. **Vincenzo Galilei**, the father of the great Galileo, seems to have been the first to have a clear idea of what *representative music*, as it was then called, might be. In 1581 he published his *Dialogue Between Ancient and Modern Music*. Then, adding example to precept, he essayed to complete this "difficult tentative, almost regarded as ridiculous" (*stimata quasi cosa ridicolosa*). He set to music the scene of *Ugolino*, in Dante's "*Divina Commedia*," and sang it, accompanying himself on the viol. It scored a great success among Bardi's friends, but "aroused violent discussions elsewhere, as well as the anger of old musicians."

On the other hand, **Emilio de Cavalieri**, a Roman gentleman,

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the intendant-general of arts and festivities at the grand-ducal court of Tuscany, composed two pastorals in the year 1590, "*Il Satiro*" and the "*Disperazione di Filena*," in which he gave proof of his intention of using the (*rinnovata*) "renewed" music, and of employing "an altogether different manner of singing than usual." The expression *recitando*, to characterize this type of song, already is familiar to his pen.

All this music, unfortunately, has been lost. Cavalieri left Florence in 1599; he had his "*Rappresentazione de Anima e di Corpo*" performed in Rome in 1600, and died on March 11, 1602.

The Florentine group or brotherhood again took up and continued Cavalieri's tentatives. **Guillo Caccini** and **Jacopo Peri**, two singer-composers, guided by the count of Vernio, endeavored to establish the rules of the new style. They renounced polyphony, this music which does not consider words, and tears poetry to pieces (*laceramento della poesia*), and sought "a kind of song in which one could, as it were, speak in music."

"Passages," that is to say, *Fioriture* (ornaments), Caccini goes on to tell us in his *Nuove Musici*, "are not essential to a good style of singing; but I think them necessary, rather, to tickle the ear of those who do not know what singing with passion is. . . . In order to compose or sing well, it is far more important to grasp the thought and the words, to feel them, and to express them with taste and emotion, than to know counterpoint."

Set to poems by *Ottavio Rinuccini* and with the aid of the learned and wealthy *Jacopo Corsi*, **Peri** had his "*Dafne*" performed in 1600; and an "*Orfeo*" (for the wedding of Maria de Medicis and Henry IV of France) in the "recitative style," that is to say, to quote his own words in one of his prefaces, "employing musical forms which, thrown into greater relief than ordinary speech yet less regularly designed than pure vocal melodies, stood midway between the two." In the same year, 1600, **Caccini** in turn wrote an "*Orfeo*."

The genius, however, who was to render the new invention fruitful and, by composing masterworks, definitely assure its success, was Monteverde.

Claudio Monteverde, who was born in Cremona in 1568, and

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died in Venice in 1643, "differs from Peri and Caccini," Romain Rolland tells us, "by the whole distance which separates a Venetian from a Florentine artist. He belongs to the race of the colorists, that of Titian and Gabrieli." He is no intellectual who seeks to establish minutely, detail by detail, the concordance of his music with its poetic text. He is an impassioned being, seeking to express in his song the emotions of his heart, not the inflections and accents of the spoken voice. He was a man who lived his life with all his soul, who had joyed and suffered before singing the joys and sorrows of others. In 1607 he wrote his "*Orfeo*" by the bedside of his dying wife and shed the tears of his own grief in advance when he wrote the harrowing plaints of "*Orpheus*." His beloved Claudia was finally torn from him, and it was beneath the stroke of this terrible separation that he was obliged to complete his "*Arianna*" for the festivities (1608) which marked the wedding of the prince who was heir to the throne of Mantua, the "*Arianna*" whose famous "Lamentation," it seems, caused more than six thousand listeners to burst into sobs.

Monteverde did not regard music as an art of scientific combinations, or one intended for the amusement of the senses. To him it was the most powerful means of expressing humanity, humanity as a whole, with all its fears and desires, all its hopes and joys, all its deceptions and revolts. He said that before his time men only had known how to translate into music a very limited number of sentiments, above all those of sadness or peace; while music should express as well rage and hatred, and the most violent emotions of the soul. Before him rhythms had always been calm and moderate; he was the creator of the "agitated" (*concitato*) style.

To depict man is not only to paint his momentary state of being, the changing condition of his diverse and mobile soul, but to link his present with his past and his future. Music is above all ideally constituted to make clear to us this bond of union between the successive manifestations of a single individuality. Monteverde asserted that "music does not confine herself merely to underlining the meaning of a text: she should look ahead," and, beneath the words with which a character

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expresses his immediate thoughts or sentiments, should allow us to penetrate "the past and the future of the personage" in question.

As a means of expression Monteverde employed the *melodic recitative*, not at all the same as the mere "dry" recitative, too closely related to spoken language to be truly musical, but a sort of free melody which never loses its own purely musical meaning, for all that it accommodates itself easily to every exigency of the poetic phrase whose least inflections it must translate. This was the creation of a genius.

To accompany this recitative, Monteverde seems to have heaped up harmonic audacities: diminished sevenths, ninth chords, and augmented fifths held no terrors for him. His modulations are at times so daring that one might think he had invented them to-day. Analogous curiosities, incidentally, may be encountered in the music of some of his contemporaries. This should not too greatly astonish us. Speaking generally, music at the beginning of the seventeenth century was not yet limited in its harmonies by that rigid conception of tonality which was to triumph in the eighteenth century, and reach its florescence in the classic epoch. In it chromaticism plays a great part; modulation is very free, and in many cases well-nigh continual.

The accompaniment of the voices in "*Orfeo*" is realized by means of an orchestra which Hugo Goldschmidt has very justly described as the "apex and terminal point of ancient instrumentation." It represents a termination even more than a point of departure. This orchestra was composed of 36 instruments: 2 *gravicembali*, 2 *contrabassi de viola*, 10 *viole de braccio*, 1 *arpa doppia*, 2 *violini piccoli alla francese*, 2 *chitaroni*, 2 *organ di legno*, 3 *bassi di gamba*, 4 *tromboni*, 1 *regale*, 2 *cornetti*, 3 *trombe sordine*, 1 *flautino alla vigesima seconda*, 1 *clarino*.*

* 2 clavecins; 2 viol contrabasses; 10 "arm-viols" (viols held on the arm while played, violins and altos); 1 double harp; 2 small French violins; 2 lutes; 2 wooden organs (with foundation stops); 3 "leg-viols" (the bass instrument of the viol family, held between the knees, like the 'cello); 4 trombones; 1 regal organ (with reed stops); 2 cornets (a sixteenth-century form, now obsolete, with narrow, cupped mouthpiece of ivory or wood,

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These instruments were employed in groups, according to the dramatic situation or the character.

Monteverde founded the musical tragedy, mythological in form, yet in essence purely human, the tragedy which Gluck later wished to restore, without realizing that he had had such a predecessor. Toward the end of his days Monteverde also supplied one of the first models of the historical opera in his "*L'Incoronazione di Poppea*" (1642). In this work there is less grandeur but greater variety than in "*Orfeo*." Aside from the air with recitative we find in it the *da capo* air, a popular song type. The comic element is mingled with the tragic. In it Monteverde shows himself in a new guise; in places becomes altogether a realist.

Monteverde, who imposed his new conception of musical art in the name of "melody," the sole immediate expression of the human passions, was rebuffed by the critics' lack of comprehension. His contemporary, **Artusi**, accused him of setting himself against all the laws of nature, of writing without regard for the eternal rules, of burdening the ear with insupportable fatigue, of confusing noise and chaos with harmony and order.

Yet Monteverde gave pleasure to the great majority, and his name soon became famous throughout Europe. At first he found no rivals or imitators outside of Italy.

Yet there a sort of contagious fury spreads among the public. In Venice, from 1637 to 1640, 3 great public halls are opened, in which (1637-1700) more than 357 operatic works are performed. In Bologna more than 60 private theatres come into being. Operas are performed even in the convents: a pope, *Clement IX*, composes one. Cardinals are librettists or stage managers. Opera becomes an unhealthy passion, a mania, and gives rise to scandals. Pope *Innocent X* is obliged to proceed

and wooden tube provided with finger-holes); 3 trumpets with mutes; 1 small flute; 1 shrill-toned trumpet.

Later Monteverde substituted violins for viols, and reduced the number of instruments in his orchestra. Little by little the Italian composers formed the habit of reducing the accompaniment of their operas to two or three violin parts, sustained by the *basso continuo* played on the clavicin. The modern opera orchestra, with the string quartet as its basis, was not to come into being until much later.

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against it. And then, in Italy at any rate, commences the decadence of this beautiful art form, of the opera, "truly a spectacle fit for princes, admirable above all others, for in it are united all the most noble pleasures: poetic invention, drama, thought, style, sweetness of rhyme, charm of music, the concord of voices and instruments, the exquisite beauty of song, the grace of dance and gesture; even the attraction of painting in decoration and costume. And, finally, the intelligence and the loftiest emotions are charmed at one and the same time by the most perfected arts which human genius has invented." (*Gagliano*, in the Preface to "*Dafne*," 1607.) The sensual and voluptuous nature of the Italians was soon to spoil this marvellous invention. The reign of virtuosity will begin; attention will be paid only to vocal effects, to the art of the singer, to luxurious staging of the scores. The music will flow in abundance, sumptuous and empty; opera, a loosely connected sequence of recitatives and airs, will become concert.

In **Florence**, after *Peri* and *Caccini*, the leading representatives of opera were **Marco da Gagliano** (1575-1642), the composer of a "*Dafne*" performed the same year as *Monteverde's* "*Orfeo*" (1607); and **Francesco Caccini**, a son of the founder of the Florentine school. But Florence soon abandoned opera for the ballet and carrousel.

It was at Rome that the new form was to attain its greatest development. **Domenico Mazzocchi** (circa 1626) wrote operas in which he tried to balance harmoniously the recitative part and that of the air. He has also given us some interesting *Dialoghi e Sonetti* (1638) on scenes from Virgil and Tasso.

The Princes *Barberini*, nephews of Pope Urban VIII, played an important part in the organization of the Roman opera. Toward 1633 they had constructed in their palace a private theatre capable of containing 3,000 spectators. This theatre was inaugurated by a performance of "*Santo Alessio*," by **Stefano Landi**, and in it we encounter, for the first time, no doubt, a duet and an instrumental overture in three movements. The serious action was intermixed with comic scenes, which had the greatest success. It was this fact, unquestionably, which induced **Vergilio Mazzocchi** to write "*Il Falcone*" or "*Chi soffre*

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speri" (1637), on a book by Giulio Rospigliosi, the future Pope Clement IX. We might at once remark that a little later, in 1653, **Marazolli** and **Abbatini** were to set to music, "*Dal mal il bene*," whose poem, inspired by Calderon, came also from Rospigliosi's pen. In this score we find a *prestissimo* ensemble and a genuine *finale*. The main elements of the *opera buffa* had already taken shape some time before the appearance of the Neapolitan school.

The Barberini also gave a great impetus to the "opera with stage machinery," which they were to bring to France. The most notable author employed by them was **Loreto Vittorio**, at once poet, musician, and the best singer of his century, whose masterwork is "*Galatea*" (1639).

In 1644 Urbain VIII died, and Innocent X, an enemy of the Barberini family, was elected pope. The Barberini left Italy and went to France. Rome ceased to play a preponderant part in the history of Italian opera, and the Venetian school reconquered that primacy which for the moment it had lost.

It was in **Venice** that *public* theatres were first inaugurated. In them the nobles occupied the boxes and the burghers the other reserved seats, while the mass of the people entered without paying. The opera was thenceforward a commercial enterprise forced to be self-supporting, and sufficiently meagre vocal and instrumental means were employed by its managers. The *historic opera* was most successful in Venice. Its action was complicated by the strangest adventures; and the supernatural and the fantastic played a great part in it as well as the burlesque. **Francesco Cavalli** (1599-1676) was the most remarkable man in Venice. His "*Serse*" ("*Xerxes*"), was to be performed in the Louvre, in 1660, and he wrote his *Ercole* expressly for Paris. Besides Cavalli, **Legrenzi** (1625-1669) and **Cesti** (1628-1669) must be mentioned. It was Cesti who generalized the use of the *da capo* aria in the opera, that is to say, the employ of an air in ternary form, a sort of "vocal sonata," whose plan is as follows: (1) The *ritornelle*, usually very long, a genuine concerto exposition. Its motive, in nearly all cases, served as the accompaniment to the air. (2) The *first part of the air*, ordinarily composed of a phrase modulating from the tonic to the

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dominant, followed by a vocalise, and with a conclusion reverting to the tonic. (3) The *second part of the air*, in a key related to the initial key, and in a mood differing somewhat from that of the first part. (4) The *repeat* (or *da capo*) of the *first part*, integrally, without any modification.

Cesti, who did a good deal of work for the court of Vienna, developed a kind of "international court opera," for virtuosos, which enjoyed an unheard-of success in its own time, and which merits the oblivion into which it has fallen to-day. Try to imagine the fastidious monotony of a succession of some 25 airs, interrupted by recitatives, of which an opera of this type was exclusively composed? At times a duet or an ensemble number was added, as the sole variety to spice this endless chain of sung monologues.

The Venetian school invented the *cantata* (*scena di camera*), a species of drama without action, where the necessity of transforming the performance into a mere concert blotted out the expression of passion, and chilled and oversweetened all sentiment. This type of "salon opera" in its turn had a very injurious effect on opera proper. The habit of the *cantata* soon spread throughout Italy. **Luigi Rossi** and **Carissimi** (1609-1671) especially distinguished themselves in it.

The **Neapolitan school** of opera was the last to be born. It was destined to shine with remarkable splendor at the end of the seventeenth and at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It was founded by **Francesco Provenzale** (c. 1610-1704). **Stradella** (1645-1682), especially famous because of a romantic adventure which cost him his life, played a rôle of some importance in it. The most illustrious representative of this school, however, was unquestionably **Alessandro Scarlatti**.

Alessandro Scarlatti was the composer of 125 operas, 500 cantatas, oratorios, masses, etc. He was born in Trapani, Sicily, in 1659, and was probably of Tuscan origin. In 1684 he established himself in Naples, where he was at once appointed conductor of the royal company of musicians. In 1702 or 1703 he left Naples and obtained the position of assistant choirmaster of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome. All operatic performances were at that time forbidden in Rome by the

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pope. Scarlatti wrote chamber-music and church music, notably for the meetings of the *Accademia della Arcadia* (founded in 1690), where he met Corelli, Pasquini, Francischiello, and Handel. In 1708 Scarlatti once more took over the guidance of the royal *cappella* in Naples, and in 1709 became the director of the Conservatory of the Poor of Jesus Christ. He died October 24, 1725, at the age of sixty-six.

In his own day Scarlatti was not popular. He was called the "serious Scarlatti," and musicians of lesser worth (but whose music seemed to be more engaging) were preferred to him. Scarlatti was a worker and endowed with a methodic nature. One of the dominant characteristics of his art was his plan of invariably enclosing his inspiration within the fixed forms of an established symmetry. His *overtures* are in three movements: one rapid, one slow, and then a *balletto* (usually a minuet). Thereupon begins an interminable procession of recitatives and airs in unvaried alternation. The dramatic sentiment, as a rule, does not dominate in his works: his music is concert music, a melodious music, developing within the frame of very carefully established regulations.

Much admired by connoisseurs, Scarlatti exerted a decided influence upon his contemporaries and on his successors, notably on Hasse and Handel. It might be noted that in 1715, in his one hundredth opera, "*Tigrane*," Alessandro Scarlatti made use of an orchestra composed of a string quartet, two oboes, and two horns. This is the same orchestra combination we find in the symphony composed in Milan, in 1734, by G. B. Sammartini, and in 1759, in the first Haydn symphony.

With Scarlatti the destinies of the Italian opera became fixed for a long time. Absolute music was to reign as an uncontested queen, slaying drama and relegating poetry to the humiliating rôle of a forced, yet despised auxiliary. The opera lost its vitality. The inspiration of the composers continued to develop in a vacuum, given over entirely to effects of purely external brilliancy, without any deeper accent, agreeable and somewhat useless.

We will mention a few more names, those of **Caldara** (1670-1736), of **Lotti** (c. 1667-1740), **Marcello** (1686-1739), **Leo** (1694-

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1746), and of **Bononcini** (1672-1762?). These are the most remarkable artists of an epoch which passed, quite erroneously, for the golden age of music. Purely melodic purity, grace, and elegance will not answer all music's purposes.

During the middle and the second half of the seventeenth century the Neapolitan school was to radiate once more with brilliant splendor, thanks to an artist who, in his time, enjoyed a universal reputation, **Jomelli** (1714-1774), the composer of fifty-five operas. In 1753 he was appointed court conductor at Stuttgart, where he remained for fifteen years, and to some extent Germanized himself. His influence in Germany was all the greater for this reason. Yet the Italian opera already had conquered Europe a long time before. France alone resisted: she had developed an operatic style in accordance with her own genius, so different from that of Italy.*

Far in advance of the time when Italian opera made its way into France, the French had shown their taste for brilliant spectacles, luxurious performances, princely festivals, ballets, masquerades, *entremets* (divertissements in the midst of festivals), and the pompous entry of sovereigns into cities.† We might recall, in 1392, the celebrated "mummery of the wild men," in the *hôtel* of Queen Blanche, in Paris, in which the

* PADRE MARTINI (1706-1784), a learned musicologist and a teacher of composition, and DURANTE (1684-1755), a member of the Neapolitan school, who wrote operas and especially church music, also belong to the epoch we are considering in this summary manner.

† If we wish to hark back still further to the most distant origins of the opera, it must be said that the very first form of the modern musical drama was the grand festival mass. In it we already find recitative, dialogue, choruses, and even a kind of "hieratic choregraphy." Little by little the office of the mass, during the Middle Ages, gave rise to a still more important representation of religious happenings, and the *liturgic drama* made its appearance. Its stage was first the choir, then the body of the church, and finally the open court or space in front of the church. In it the tongue of the vulgar, mingling with the Latin, allowed the approaching advent of the *mysteries* to be divined.

The *mystery* was represented altogether outside the church, on a special stage and by laymen. Music played a far more restricted rôle in the mystery than in the liturgic drama. It was no more than "an intermittent decoration, indeterminate and facultative." It merely took the part of an intermezzo, and borrowed with ever greater frequency from the repertoire of the popular song.

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dancers were clad in garments of waste, coated with tar, which caught fire and called forth the terrible tragedy in which King Charles VI lost his mind.

The *ballet de cour* (court ballet), developed greatly in France, beginning with the end of the sixteenth century. Lully's operas were to continue a majority of the traditions of its stately or comic dances, its rich stage effects, and its marvellous stage "machinery." We might note the *ballet comique de la Reine*, organized in 1581 by Baltasarini (called **Beaujoyeux**), on the occasion of the marriage of Mlle. de Vaudemont with the duke of Joyeuse. It was not merely a suite of dances, but an "action" danced. In this work and in other analogous ones, a subject is treated, a subject which might often supply the theme for an opera. It is a comedy-ballet or a *ballet-comique*, to use the phrase then employed in order to stress the importance in it of the dramatic element. The dance does not pre-empt everything. There is an overture, there are recitatives, airs (in the style of the "court air"), and choruses. The vocal portion occupies so important a place in the ballet that soon we find one musician specially intrusted with its composition; while another is charged with the purely instrumental and choregraphic music.

If, on the other hand, we seek the origin of the *récit* or recitation, and the *opera air* in France, it will be noticed that the evolution of the *polyphonic song*, as it was understood by Jannequin, Lasso, and Costeley, developed in the sense of "accompanied monody." The old counterpoint was changing little by little into harmony. The four or five voices of the ensemble no longer were of equal importance. Often the melody was exclusively confined to the upper part, which the other parts merely sustained with their "chords." Who does not recall the charming "This Month of May," by Jannequin, so characteristic in this respect? The lute, more and more frequently taking the place of the voices as an accompaniment for the *superius*, that is to say, the voice singing the melody, still further encouraged the decline of the polyphonic spirit to the advantage of monodic usage. Thus, progressively, the *air de la cour* (so called as being opposite to the *voix de la ville*, the "voice of

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the town")—that is to say the air composed in art form as distinct from the air of less studied contour, the popular song*—was reached.

We must also make allowance for the influence of the "humanist" movement. The idea of uniting poetry and music in a manner more intimate than had hitherto been attempted had occurred to the poet **Jean Antoine de Baïf** who, together with **Joachim Thibaut de Courville**, had, in 1570, obtained from King Charles IX permission to establish an *Académie de poésie et de musique*. From these artistic gatherings an effort to create a French musical drama might have been expected.

In reality they only concerned themselves with vocal chamber-music. Baïf's eyes were turned solely toward the past. Wishing, at all costs, to bend the French language to the rules of Greek and Latin prosody, he composed delightful "verses measured in the antique style," which suggested charming musical inspirations to **Claude le Jeune** and **Mauduit**; yet remained a curiosity of art without a future. The meetings of the academy ceased at about the year 1584. Despite all, however, Baïf, though he had not given the theatre, the musical drama, a thought, had shared in the collective effort of the many different artists who prepared the advent of the opera. He insisted that more importance be given poetry in the words which were sung, and thus he rejected the complications of counterpoint, which interfered with the auditors' clear understanding of the poetic text. In endeavoring to realize a versification conforming to the rules of Latin prosody in French, Baïf attempted a reform quite sterile from the poetic point of view. Yet he led the musicians who drew inspiration from his "measured" verses to regulate their music meticulously, according to the syllable quantities; and thus induced them to study the procedure to be observed for exact musical declamation, so necessary in the operatic style. In the end, unity of rhythm, imposed upon all the vocal parts by the exigencies of this new metrical system, necessarily lent the musical compositions for which Baïf's poems furnished the text, a harmonically

* TRANS. NOTE.—For a valuable and detailed study of both popular and court airs, see: Théodore Gérold, *L'Art du Chant en France au XVII^e siècle*.

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clean-cut character, by robbing the polyphonic ensembles of all independence.

The two most illustrious composers of ballets for vocal part singing during the first half of the seventeenth century were **Pierre Guéron** (the king's *valet-de-chambre* in 1603), and **Antoine Boesset** (1588-?). Besides these might be mentioned: **Vincent, Bataille, Auget, Boyer, Moulinié, Cambefort, Crancy.**

With the appearance of the poet **Isaac de Benserade**, the ballet becomes a "literary form."

Dating from 1655, **Lully** is the principal composer of the court ballets.

From the year 1640 on, all the great ballets are preceded by an *Overture* consisting of a slow introduction and a rapid movement. This was called the "overture in the French style," which, later, Lully adopted as the prelude of his operas, and whose type endured until the middle of the eighteenth century, copied and imitated in every land.

The French of their own accord would not have turned to opera. It was necessary that the model be brought to them from Italy.

Mazarin was the man who introduced opera into France. It was part of his policy. Mazarin was a musician; he had been educated by the Brethren of the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri, then by the Jesuits of the Roman College; and he had taken part as one of the leading actors in the apotheosis of Saint Ignatius Loyola, in 1622. In 1647 he had performed an "*Orpheus*" by one of the most celebrated of Italian composers, **Luigi Rossi**. It was an event of importance, and scored a wide-spread success. Nevertheless, the new form was not yet acclimatized in France. The French continued to write ballets.

In December, 1654, the poet *Charles de Beys* and the organist **Michael de la Guerre** gave a pastoral, "*le Triomphe de l'Amour*." In April, 1659, in the little village of Issy, near Paris, M. de la Haye performed the "*Pastorale*," words by the *Abbé Perrin*, the music by **Cambert**. The new piece made quite an impression. It was repeated eight or ten times, and everybody talked about the "Issy opera." The music of this

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score has been lost. The book, however, indicates that it was no more than a succession of songs.

It seemed as though a musical theatre would soon be established in Paris, but the death of Mazarin carried off the most powerful of the patrons of Cambert and Perrin; they step back into the shadows.

New examples of the form still continued to come from Italy. In 1660 **Cavalli** had his "*Serse*" performed before the court, in the Louvre; yet in order to adapt the work to the French taste, it was considered necessary to interpolate dance interludes between the acts, for which Lully composed the music. Cavalli's score, thus burdened, gave but mediocre pleasure. Notwithstanding, it was with his "*Ercole amante*" that the magnificent hall of the Tuileries was inaugurated, on February 7, 1662, a ballet by Lully separating each act and with Louis XIV appearing as the *Sun* in the final ballet. Where the French were concerned, Cavalli always found a certain disinclination to recognize the merits of a foreign artist and a foreign art.

Nevertheless, all these attempts had prepared the way for the creation of a public opera-house. On June 28, 1669, *Pierre Perrin*, in conjunction with the *Marquis de Sourdéac*, secured the privilege of establishing in Paris an academy "for the representation and singing in public of opera, and performances in music and French verse, like and similar to those of Italy." On March 19, 1671, the new theatre was inaugurated by Cambert's pastoral, "*Pomone*," the composer himself conducting his orchestra of thirteen musicians, his five solo singers and fifteen choristers. The poem was very vapid, and the music decidedly mediocre, at least if we are to judge by the first act, the only one preserved.

Perrin and Cambert were surely not of an artistic stature to assure the destinies of French opera. Besides, it was not long before dissensions broke out between the associate directors of the *Académie de Musique*, and Lully, very cleverly, profited thereby, in 1672, to obtain the grant of their privilege. He was now—and for a long time to come—the lord and master of French opera. He reigned over his new realm as an absolute monarch, suffering no division of authority. He pursued Cam-

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bert with so remorseless a hatred that the latter was obliged to go to England, where he died, in 1677.

"A little man, sufficiently ill-favored, and with a much neglected exterior . . . with small black eyes, red-rimmed, seeing with difficulty and difficult to see"—yet these eyes were intelligent and full of spirit—with large, coarse features, a large mouth and a fat chin, such was Lully physically.

As to his moral qualities, he was despicable, a perfidious flatterer, arbitrary and mean, pitilessly cruel to those who stood in his way, but surprisingly dexterous in conquering the favor of the great.

He obtained all that to which he aspired: glory, honors, and a fortune; he left an estate of 870,000 livres when he died.

Jean-Baptiste Lully was born in Florence, November 29, 1632. The Chevalier de Guise brought him to Paris in 1643, to present him to Mlle. de Montpensier, who took him into her service, and had him given music lessons. He became a remarkable violinist, and, to compete with the *Grande Bande des violons du roi*, founded the *Bande des petits violons*.

In 1658 he wrote the ballet "*Alcidiane*"; he then collaborated with Molière, and played comedy parts in the intermezzos; he made, so it seems, an excellent *Mufti* in the "*Bourgeois Gentilhomme*"; he danced to perfection, and the principal rôles in the court ballets were reserved for him. It was thus that he first won the favor of Louis XIV.

Lully had worked at composition with three Paris organists: Métru, Roberday, and Gigault. Hence he was nourished on the French style, and he even shared the prejudice French musicians entertained with regard to the opera. He made the comedy-ballet his stronghold, and until 1672 affirmed that "opera was a thing impossible of execution in French." He was, no doubt, enlightened by the success of Perrin, and possibly by the confidences of Molière, who did not hide from him his desire to purchase Perrin's privilege.

"Lully wrote one opera each year. He would give himself up altogether to the task during three months, with the greatest ardor and assiduity. The rest of the year he did little. One or two hours, from time to time, on nights when he could

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not sleep and mornings which he did not need for his pleasures, sufficed."—Lecerf de la Viéville.

He found the poet of his dreams, *Quinault*, a man of talent or, at any rate, skilful. *Quinault* was amiable, gentle, complaisant, supple, and *Lully* was able to train him. He attached *Quinault* to himself by means of a fee of 4,000 livres per opera. *Quinault's* task was no easy one: first of all, he had to satisfy the king; then the French Academy; and finally *Lully* himself, who was not the least severe among his critics.

Lully trained his orchestra; he made it the first in Europe as regards discipline and rhythm. He himself forced the singers and dancers to work, and regulated everything in his theatre down to the least detail.

This organizing power reveals itself as well in his works. *Lully* as a musician seems to be above all a very positive intelligence; he follows a very narrowly defined system of composition, allows himself little freedom of inspiration; and assigns a very restricted rôle to sentiment.

Lecerf de la Viéville tells us that *Lully* "modelled himself upon the vocal inflections of *Champmeslé*." His main pre-occupation, in fact, is to imitate so far as possible the declamation of the great seventeenth-century actors, who applied themselves primarily to scrupulously respecting prosody. Hence *Lully* is careful not alone always to place a long note above an accented syllable, and a short note above an unaccented one; but to mark a pause at the *cæsura* and at the rhyme. From this results an impression of great monotony; one would often suppose that the composer has taken pains musically to reinforce the "*tragic ronron*" ("purring").

The expression of sentiment is often very weak in *Lully's* music. His happiest effects, from this view-point, are drawn from an attentive noting down of the impassioned accents of speech, not from the invention of a melodic line in itself moving. In the most pathetic moments his song often is content to be graceful, and, above all, noble and symmetrical. Here the ballet tradition exercised a fatal influence on his music. The foursquare and exactly rhythmized forms of the dance recur everywhere in his airs, stiffening the melody and making it

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bombastic. And then his basses always progress with the self-same regular movement, a note at a time; while the song, too often borrowing its elements from the figures of the bass, leaps in great intervals, very harmonic, no doubt, but not at all melodic.

Lully excelled in his *descriptive music*, though this, too, is primarily the work of an intellectual artist. His *Slumber Aria* in "*Armide*," for instance, is a sheer masterpiece. Yet Lully is no colorist; all he has is design. He does not interest himself in the detail of harmonization and orchestration. Once he had found his song part, the rest is merely a matter of filling in; he jots down the bass and has it written out by his pupils. In this respect he is quite the child of his day. He was content with having fixed, once and for all, the elements of his harmonization and orchestration in a well-defined system.

Owing to the establishment of this system Lully has played a notable rôle in the history of instrumental music. One might say that the modern orchestra, with all its well-established balance of sonorities and the string quintet as a centre of gravity, dates from him. (Lully wrote for five instrumental parts.)

Lully's music may seem to possess a dragging character. This seeming fault is often due to the manner of playing: the movements are taken too slowly, the singing is not done in time, and in a shrieking style. Yet Lully's contemporaries tell us that "he indicated a way of singing to the singer which lends life without extravagance . . . a natural mode of speech." His orchestra played inflexibly in time, with rigorous exactness, with perfect equality and refined delicacy. His dances, finally, were so rapid in tempo that at times they were treated as *baladinage*, as merry-andrew or mountebank dances. Measure, exactness, vivacity, delicacy, such are the qualities which Lully's contemporaries unite in noting in the work of his leading interpreters and in his music itself.

All in all, the Florentine Lully repeated, for French use, and in the French style, the recitative system of the Florentines Peri and Caccini, at the time when it had ceased to be honored in Italy and had begun to find itself replaced by the school of the *bel canto*.

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And besides, Lully was careful to leave to one side all that in the art of the Italian founders of the opera might address itself too exclusively to the heart or the senses. When we compare "any Italian declamation with a recitative of Carissimi or of Provenzale," says M. de la Laurencie, "we may observe that the superintendent of the music of the 'Great King' has proceeded, in some sort, to cleanse the Italian technic; he has expurgated all those extravagant weeds which a predilection for *bel canto*, and even legitimate musical taste, had permitted to spring up in the monodic flower-bed." Hardly, from time to time, does he tolerate a few ornaments, "out of condescension for the people and consideration for his brother-in-law Lambert" (who had made them the fashion). "*My recitative is meant only to be spoken; I wish it to be entirely unified*," said Lully. Thanks to him, a tradition quite contrary to that of Italian opera, thoroughly sensual and sentimental, one increasingly melodic and vocal, was created in France. Lully's music, well calculated to please the French, especially the eighteenth-century French, appealed above all to reason; it was a fine imitation of spoken language, offering ear and intelligence the pleasure of exact accentuation and natural declamation, giving the singer the fewest possible opportunities to display his virtuosity, and deriving its entire æsthetic value from its happy proportion and its verity.

Breaking with the comedy-ballet, Lully, notwithstanding, kept the comic intermezzos and ballets in his operas. His "*Cadmus*" (1672), and his "*Alceste*" (1674), contain comic airs and buffo scenes. Though later he excludes comedy in order to turn his opera into a pure musical tragedy, we should at least note the fact that in every case the ballet retains an important place, and that the tragedy itself is never a very violent one. It is court tragedy, an analysis in oratorio form of the subtle shadings of romanesque and gallant sentiment.

Lully died in Paris, March 22, 1687. He had directed the *Académie de musique* for fifteen years, and there had presented in succession "*Cadmus et Hermione*" (1672), "*Alceste*" (1674), "*Thésée*" (1675), "*Atys*" (1676), "*Isis*" (1677), "*Psyché*" (1678), "*Bellérophon*" (1679), "*Proserpine*" (1680), "*le Triom-*

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phe de l'Amour" (1681), "*Persée*" (1682), "*Phæton*" (1683), "*Amadis de Gaule*" (1684), "*Roland*" (1685), "*Armide et Renaud*" (1686), "*Acis et Galatée*" (1687), and in addition many ballets and divertissements.

He had monopolized the opera. His contemporaries were obliged to fall back upon church and chamber music. To this cause was due the great popularity in the France of his day of the eminently insincere form of the *chamber cantata*, which in turn, in France as well as in Italy, exerted a very disastrous influence on opera itself.

Nevertheless, talented composers flourished side by side with Lully: **Marc-Antoine Charpentier** (1634-1702), a pupil of Carissimi, the composer of a "*Médée*"; **Campra** (1660-1744), also an Italianizer, who wrote an "*Achille et Deidamie*"; **Clérambault** (1676-1749), whose graceful melodies were so greatly admired by Jean-Jacques Rousseau. None of them were equipped to assume so great a heritage. Hence the public soon grew tired of vainly expecting works of value. Opera fell more and more into discredit. In the end it was thought, and repeated, that the French were not born to compose operas; that the French language was but poorly adapted to singing; and that true models for the musical stage and ever-fecund composers would have to be sought for in Italy. In 1702 **Raguenet** published a *Parallel between the Italians and the French with Regard to Music and the Opera*, altogether in favor of the Italians. **Lecerf de la Viéville** vainly answered him, in 1704, with his *Comparison of Italian and French Music*, an enthusiastic panegyric on Lully. French opera seemed to be in a very bad way. The repetitions of Lully's works did not suffice to gratify the curiosity of the public. An amiable musician, **Destouches** (1672-1749), the composer of an opera, "*Issé*," was not very successful in holding its attention with the charming *opéra-ballets* he composed. It is certain that the *Académie de musique* would have found it hard to exist if a new genius, Rameau, had not arrived to bring it his masterworks.

* * *

At the time Lully was establishing the French opera, Henry Purcell made an effort to establish a national opera in England;

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he won a glorious victory, but one which had no permanent results.

The English to-day have the reputation of not being very musical. The reason is that for more than two hundred years England has not produced a single great composer, and we are too ready to forget that in her day she was one of the most musical nations in the world. First of all, there exists an English folk music of rarest flavor, whose origin harks back to a time when music was scarce an art, but rather the natural expression of the feelings. Since the Middle Ages, as we have seen, great artists have reflected glory on England, and the famous *Dunstable*, in the fifteenth century, was one of the inventors of counterpoint. In the sixteenth century *Byrde*, *John Bull*, *Orlando Gibbons* wrote masterpieces of vocal music in a style analogous to that of Orlando di Lasso, Costeley, and Palestrina. During this same sixteenth century the English discovered the unsuspected possibilities of the string and keyboard instruments; they composed—for a kind of small clavecin called the *virginal*—the first themes with variations, replete with embellishments, ornaments, and graces of every kind, whose style the French clavecinists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries adopted and perfected. But, above all, England has the glory of having produced a musician of real genius, **Purcell**, who essayed his powers to some extent in all the forms, and left an abiding trace on them.

Henry Purcell was born in 1658, in Saint Ann's Lane, Old Pye Street, Westminster, London. He gained his musical education as a choir boy of the Chapel Royal. At the age of twenty-two he had an opera performed—"Dido and Æneas"—which contains beauties of the first order, and made a sensation. The same year (1680) he became organist of Westminster Abbey, and thenceforward gave up stage composition and wrote principally cantatas, or chamber-music, notably twelve sonatas for two violins and figured bass. In 1686 he returned to the stage and conceived the idea of giving his native land a national opera. After many efforts he triumphed over the competition which the Italians had established in London, and in 1691 his masterwork, "*King Arthur*," for which *Dryden* wrote the text,

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appeared. Unfortunately, at the beginning of 1695, Purcell died without having been able to express the full power of his genius. Nevertheless, he left quite a heritage of interesting works, in especial his church music, which exercised a great influence on Handel, after the latter's arrival in England.

Purcell had taken the Italians as his models, a fact easily noticeable when his scores are read. In them will be found many of the processes originated by Caccini, Peri, and Monteverde, and imitated by their successors. Purcell has a greater affinity with the Venetians than with the Florentines; that is to say, his music is not that of a refined intellectual, but rather that of a sensitive and impassioned, soul. Besides, many influences merge to determine his style. In his works we meet with essays in polyphony in the manner of the sixteenth century, yet often a little brief, no more than sketched, and ending in massive harmonies. In his operas he mingles the freest sort of recitative with airs structurally rigid. He resumes a whole past of which he is the somewhat confused terminator. Yet what we discover above all in his music is the man himself, is his powerful personality, whose originality is very enjoyable and thoroughly English. His inspiration is fresh, vigorous; at times harsh, violent, and brutal; always quite direct, and on occasion somewhat dry. His music is sane music, with a puissant and vital rhythm, and a tragic profundity which often impresses and makes one think of Bach. Read *Dido's* last air in "*Dido and Æneas*": the page is an admirable one and sustains comparison with no matter which among the masterworks of the great masters. It rises to such heights that we completely forget the form which supplies it with a date, and it seems as though written yesterday to any one ignorant of the evolution of musical technic. Here we may notice some harmonic audacities peculiar to Purcell, and which lend much color, in other passages as well, to his descriptive purposes.

In order really to understand Purcell he must be sung in English. The very individual accent of the English tongue has compelled the musician to employ melodic turns and rhythms which would lose all significance were they to be applied to a French translation.

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Was not this greatest among English musicians the last as well? * After him English musical history seems to come to an end. From the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries the English, for want of anything better, were content to adopt foreign musicians such as *Handel* and *Mendelssohn*. Yet why should musical inspiration not be born again, some day, in a nation which has already given so many proofs of the fine inborn artistic faculties it possesses, faculties which, nevertheless, a certain hesitancy or awkwardness prevents her from deploying to a greater extent?

Music altogether profane, opera music, had difficulty in making a place for itself in the Germany of the sixteenth century. In 1627 **Heinrich Schütz** had written a "*Dafne*" to a poem by Martin Opitz, for the wedding of the princess of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, in Torgau. The fact should be noted that Schütz did not make the acquaintance of Monteverde until the year following, in 1628. The score of "*Dafne*" has been lost. Incidentally, this first attempt was barren of result. Germany, ravaged by the Thirty Years' War, had but little time in which to organize her pleasures. Yet, one might signalize, in 1643 and 1648, performances in Munich of a "*Philothea*," by an anonymous cleric. It was a "sacred comedy" in five acts, describing the progress of divine love in the human soul, and contained some interesting pages. From 1644 dates a "*Freudenspiel*," in five acts, by **Sigmund Gottfried Studen**, to a poem by Harsdörffer, entitled "*Das geistliche Waldgedicht oder Seeleweg*," in which one already senses, as Romain Rolland remarks, "the moral pantheism which gives their soul to the *Freischütz* and the *Venusberg*."

At the same period, favored by the influence of the Jesuits, the opera found its way into Bavaria. **Johann Kaspar Kerll** (1628-1693) was for some time the official composer at the court of Munich. He wrote his operas on Italian librettos. Unfortunately none of them have been preserved. In 1658 **Cavalli** had his "*Alessandro*" performed in Munich, and, follow-

* TRANS. NOTE.—In view of what Elgar, Arnold Bax, and Eugene Goossens—the last-mentioned in particular—have given us, is this question well founded?

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ing his example, many Italians came to seek their fortunes at the courts of the German princes. **Cesti** reigned in Vienna; **Bontempi** in Dresden; **Steffani** in Bavaria, later in Hanover (1654-1728). The last-mentioned composer was born in Castelfranco, near Venice. Though he had entered the church and become an *abbé* this did not prevent his writing for the stage. His great success, first in Munich and then in Hanover, secured him the position of choir conductor and director of the elector of Hanover's opera. In 1711 he abandoned music for diplomacy, in which he scored a brilliant success, and resigned his musical functions to Handel, toward the formation of whose style—especially from the point of view of elegance and facility—he noticeably contributed.

It was in *Hamburg*, in 1678, that a public opera-house in which works were sung *in German*, was opened for the first time in Germany. The opening spectacle was a species of oratorio, entitled "*Der erschaffene, gefallene und aufgerichtete Mensch*" ("Man, Created, Fallen and Uplifted"), which presented the story of Adam and Eve on the boards. The Hamburg opera performances at once motived an endless dispute between pietists and liberals. The pietists would tolerate no mention of these impure diversions, and clamorously insisted that the theatre—whose right to existence the liberals defended to the best of their ability—be closed. It is not surprising that, given these conditions, religious dramas such as the "*Sieben Maccabeer*," by Franck (1679), "*Esther*," by Strungk (1680), and "*Die Geburt Christis*," by Thiele (1681), were often performed. They represented a means of mollifying the pietists to some extent.

Johann Wolfgang Francken (b. 1641) and **Reinhard Keiser** (1647-1739) were the two leading representatives of the Hamburg school of opera. Keiser was unquestionably the greater of the two. Initiated into the art of Lully during his youth, he imitated the Frenchman's orchestration, and also, especially from a melodic point of view, was influenced by Steffani. His recitative is very dramatic in character, more melodic than the French, more sustained than the Italian, and in it one divines the language of Bach. Handel was largely inspired by the

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example of Keiser, and at times has copied him. Besides his operas Keiser wrote cantatas and Passions, as well as comic operas, such as "*Der Lebemann*" (1710), and "*Jodelet*" (1726), which were, perhaps, the first works of this kind composed in Germany.

The Hamburg opera-house was destined to close its doors in 1738.

In Dresden, in Vienna, in all the large cities of Germany the opera-houses at that time were in the hands of Italian composers and German artists, such as the famous **Johann Adolf Hasse** (1699-1783), who wrote Italian music to Italian texts.

Dramatic music in the German countries only very gradually assumed an original shape and form. It is not until the advent of Mozart that we meet with the first masterworks of an opera which may rightly be called German.

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CHAPTER V

THE ORATORIO AND THE CHURCH CANTATA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The opera and the oratorio were contemporaries. Both forms date from the formation of the dramatic style, from the birth of recitative music.

Oratorio differs from opera inasmuch as it suggests the *image* of the dramatic actions described, by addressing itself exclusively to the ear, not at the same time to the eye.

Toward the end of the Middle Ages the *Sacred Representations* were born in Italy (like the *Mysteries* in France) of the very celebration of the ceremonies of the cult from which they had progressively become detached. Organized at that time by laymen, they gave rise to all sorts of excesses, which led to their condemnation by the ecclesiastical authorities.

For the second time, toward the end of the sixteenth century, the church motivated the birth of a dramatic genus, one severely watched over by the "Catholic reaction," and from which all theatrical representations which might excite the eye were excluded: this was the oratorio.

Two men were the innovators in this new domain: Filippo de Neri and Animuccia.

Filippo de Neri was born in Florence, in 1515, and died in Rome in 1595. In 1551 he was ordained a priest, and began to give conferences on biblical history in the oratory of the convent of San Giralomo, and later in the oratory of the convent of Santa Maria, in Vallicella. These pious reunions acquired so increasing a measure of importance that, in 1557, Gregory XIII regularized the institution under the name of the *Congregation of the Oratorio*.

At an early hour Neri had entertained the idea of appealing to music to supply a new element of edification. He had asked

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the assistance of **Animuccia**, choirmaster of the pontifical chapel (?1500-?1570). Animuccia composed hymns called *Laudi spirituali*, which had reference to the biblical history commented upon in each conference. Palestrina succeeded Animuccia in his office. Hitherto it had been a question only of music well-nigh altogether lyric, and conceived in the polyphonic style.

Little by little these compositions for the reunions of the *Oratorio* took on another character. The *laude* became *narrative and dramatic*. It assumed the form of a *dialogue*. Finally the *monodic* and *recitative* style appeared in this music.

Nevertheless, side by side with the oratorio which was coming into being, the old "sacred representation" still survived. In 1600, in the Church of Santa Maria, in Vallicella, took place the "*Rappresentazione di Anima e di Corpo*" by **Emilio de' Cavalieri**, which is not a real oratorio. It is, rather, a "sacred representation" or, if one prefer, a kind of religious opera in several acts, comprising costumes, stage decorations, machines, ballets, and symphonies; it was written in the vulgar tongue, and was a Lenten spectacle given quite outside the churchly pale.

Emilio de' Cavalieri, a Roman gentleman, was a great scholar, very much interested in the antique, very eager to imitate the simplicity and the expressive power of Greek art. Perhaps less specifically a musician than Peri, Caccini or Monteverde, he was above all a man of the theatre. His orchestra was very poor; a *lire double*, a *clavicembalo*, a *chitarone* or *theorbe*, and an *organo suave con un chitarone*. He did not invariably devote his best attention to the perfection of his musical declamation. Yet he knew marvellously well how to organize performances from the practical and technical point of view. A hall, so he tells us, should not contain more than a thousand spectators, comfortably seated. The sound is lost in halls too great in size, and if the words can no longer be heard, the music grows tiresome. The orchestra should be invisible. The instrumentation should vary according to the characters and the passions. The action of the performers should be as carefully studied as their song. The choruses must take part in the action; they should pretend to be listening to what goes on, change position, rise, seat themselves, gesticulate. Performances should not last longer than

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two hours, and should be divided into three acts (Preface of the "*Rappresentazione di Anima e di Corpo*"). Emilio de' Cavalieri must have been an excellent stage manager.

Unfortunately in this work, and in several others of the same kind which were composed at the same period, the personages were, in nearly all cases, mere personifications of abstract conceptions: Joy, Time, the World, Sin, etc. This persistent symbolism, this continual metaphor had a desperately chilling effect.

The "sacred representations," for all they were rejuvenated by the employ of the recitative style, could look forward to no future.

The oratorio,* on the contrary, was to assume an artistic importance of the most elevated kind, thanks to a few composers, among whom Giacomo Carissimi was the most remarkable.

Giacomo Carissimi (1603-1674) was born in Marino, and this is all that is known of his infancy and youth. In any case, it is plain that he must have been influenced at an early hour by the new masters, who were so rapidly making a name for themselves throughout Italy, as they suddenly cast into the shade the glory of the great sixteenth-century polyphonists. Cavalieri's success was already turning young musicians aside from the paths hitherto travelled. "The meaning of the subject-matter and the words," said Caccini in the Preface to his *Nuove Musichi* (Florence, 1621), "their correct and agreeable expression, passion and emotion are more important than any counterpoint." Beginning with 1630 Palestrina's music was admired only from the point of view of "fine antiques" collected in museums.

In 1624 Carissimi, now no longer unknown, was appointed choirmaster of the chapel of the Basilica of Assisi.

In 1630 he was given charge of the music in the Germanic College in Rome, a post which Vittoria had occupied until the year 1577. This college had been founded by Saint Ignatius

* The word *oratorio* first meant the place in which the religious reunions were held, then the conferences which were held there, and finally the music which illustrated these conferences.

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Loyola, in order to make head against the progress of the Reformation in Germany, and in the sixteenth century it boasted a good choir, recruited among the student body. Yet, beginning with the seventeenth century, the taste for recitative music commenced to spread, and since it called for routined singers, a small number of professional soloists were engaged from without, there barely being enough artists available to suffice for the services of the Roman Churches. Hence Carissimi, upon entering the Germanic College, was confronted with fixed habitudes to which, necessarily, he was obliged to conform. He had no actual choir drilling to do, no choir to teach. All his time was left him for composition, and he not only wrote for the church but for the theatre as well. It need not astonish us if this religious music is often opera music. Carissimi wrote only for solo voices; even when his scores contained ensembles of several voices, these were not true choral parts, no part ever being doubled. He employed the melodic style and embellishment in order to show forth the singers' qualities. He used one, two, or three voices in the same work, rarely more. The figured bass accompaniment was written for organ or clavecin, with two violins for the *ritornelli*. At times, for great festivals, choruses were introduced; but in order to preserve the recitative character of the music the parts were distributed among them in dialogue, two, three, four, or five choruses answering one another.

Carissimi's oratorios are not sacred operas after the fashion of the "*Rappresentazione di Anima e di Corpo*," by Cavalieri; they are plain church cantatas. He wrote simple *church cantatas* just as he wrote *chamber cantatas*. There were no decorations, no costumes, no machinery, no ballet. The action was not carried out, it was merely narrated by a personage, the *historicus*. This is the form which Handel and Bach adopted later, at the same time giving their works much greater dimensions. Carissimi composed only one "sacred representation" in Cavalieri's manner, the "*Sacrifice d'Isaac*," which, incidentally, has been lost. The spiritual cantatas of Carissimi found their place, not in the great festivals, nor yet in the liturgic offices, but in the pious exercises of the faithful belonging to some confraternity.

Without stage action, without stage setting, Carissimi's works are, nevertheless, far more living and vital than Cavalieri's. This is because, instead of treating his subjects in an abstract or allegoric manner, he expressed in music, dramas developed between concrete personages. Such are the sacred histories (*historiæ sacræ*): "*The History of Job*," for three voices; "*The History of Ezekiel*," for four voices; "*The History of Balthazar*," for five voices; "*The History of Jephtha*," for six voices; "*The History of the Unrighteous Rich Man*," for eight voices; "*The History of Abraham and Isaac*," for five voices; "*The Judgment of Solomon*," for four voices; or the dramatized commentary of some dogma like the three-voice "*Plaint of the Damned*," or "*The Last Judgment*," for three choruses.

Carissimi is accounted one of the purest and most delicate musicians Italy has produced. His sovereign perfection of proportion, his grace of melodic outline, his accuracy and serenity of expression, lend his religious works an incomparable suavity. We ask ourselves, on the other hand, how the same man could have written such feeble operas.

Universally admired by his contemporaries, Carissimi found numerous disciples in Italy, in Germany, and even in France, where so much hostility was shown Italian music, and where Carissimi is reported to have made a stay. **Marc-Antoine Charpentier** (1643-1702), took him for his master and model. Louis XIV enjoyed listening to his works. A certain *Miserere*, by Carissimi, has been sung uninterruptedly to our own day in some churches in the south of France.

Almost as great as Carissimi was a contemporary German, **Heinrich Schütz**, who also produced religious cantatas which were masterpieces of the first order at the same period. Born October 8, 1589, at Köstritz, the child of well-to-do burghers, Schütz, until 1609, studied the classical curriculum and law. The Landgrave Maurice of Hesse-Cassel, having noticed his attractive voice, offered Schütz a pension on condition that he take lessons from Giovanni Gabrieli (1557-1613), in Venice, organist of Saint Mark's. Schütz accepted, delighted to travel, but without as yet having any fixed idea anent his musical vocation. Gabrieli, no doubt, initiated him into ancient coun-

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terpoint, but introduced him as well to recitative music and the resources of the instruments. After four years Schütz returned to Germany and became the palace organist of the Landgrave Maurice. Later he passed into the service of the Elector of Saxony, Johann George I, and in Dresden was subjected to the influence of Lutheran Church tradition, which allowed a certain amount of pomp and music of a decorative character in its ceremonies. In 1625 Schütz published his "*Cantiones sacræ*," which made his name known throughout Germany. In 1628 he once more left for Italy; there he noted the success of Monteverde's works, and in Venice published, in 1629, some "*Symphoniæ sacræ*," with the following notice to the reader: "Having remained in Venice with some old friends, I noticed that the manner of modulating had changed somewhat, it having given up the ancient cadences in order to flatter present-day ears with a modern tickling. It is to this object, hence, that I have applied my mind and powers." Thus Schütz followed the new paths traced by Monteverde, yet not without occasionally regretting the art of the past, borrowing largely from it, and mingling the resources of polyphony with those of harmony and the recitative.

Returning to Germany Schütz led a rather wandering life: he fled before the war which devastated his fatherland; he bewailed the misfortunes of his time; and, notwithstanding, his devout soul still overflowed in admirable songs. Thus we have, in 1636 and 1639, the first, then the second, part of the "*Kleine geistliche Konzerte*"; in 1647 and 1650 the second, then the third part of the "*Symphoniæ sacræ*."

Schütz became old; he grew deaf. His last works were: the "*Passion nach Sanct Johannes*" and the "*Weinachtsoratorium*" ("Christmas Oratorio"); in 1660 the "*Passion nach Sanct Matthäus*." He also wrote Passions according to Saint Mark and Saint Luke. In the compositions written toward the end of his life Schütz returned to the choral form, mingled with recitative, the whole without accompaniment. It was thus that he protested against the progress of the Italian virtuoso school, by cherishing an art increasingly severe. "He believed he had rediscovered the tongue of Palestrina," one of his biographers

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has said; "in reality he was preparing the way for that of Bach." He was a rough, vigorous genius, not devoid of grace, and with a remarkable depth of sentiment. He merits the lofty name which has been given him of "the father of German music."

Contemporaneous with Schütz there was a considerable florescence of the church cantata in Germany. To do justice to it would call for the mention of an infinite number of names, of which a few follow: **Michael Altenburg** (1584-1640); **Johann Staden**, composer of "*Cantoinnes sacræ*" (1634); **J. H. Schein**, who wrote "*Geistliche Concerte*" (1612, 1626), "in the Italian manner"; **Tobias Leutschner**, of Dresden, who imitated Schütz; and **Andreas Hammerschmidt**, who wrote very simple music, easy of execution, destined for the most unpretentious country churches, "that good Hammerschmidt," as people called him (he was very popular). Then there were: **Johann Rudolf Ahle** (d. 1673); **Franz Tunder**; **Heinrich Bach** (1615-1672); **Johann Christian Bach** (1642-1703), a son of the preceding and uncle of the great Johann Sebastian Bach; and his brother **Johann Michael** (1648-1694).

A place apart must be reserved for **Dietrich Buxtehude**. This great musician was probably born in 1636 or 1637, in Helsingborg, on the eastern shores of the Sound,* opposite Elsinore. His father was an organist. He himself acquired such a reputation as an organist and composer at an early age, he was called to succeed the famous Franz Tunder at the *Marienkirche*, in Lübeck, and in this city had an opportunity to write numerous cantatas, partly for the reunions of a society of amateurs and artists, founded in 1660, and known as the *Collegium musicum*; but mainly for the church concerts which, under the name of *Abendmusik* (Evening Music), were performed at the *Marienkirche*, and whose fame spread rapidly. The art of Buxtehude was at the same time scholarly, harsh, and mysterious. Yet his science rarely degenerated into pedantry, and he knew how to write popularly on occasion. His harshness, his vigor of accent were tempered, when necessary, by tenderness and sweetness. His mysticism was that of his land and time, and he was very profoundly influenced by the Pietist doctrines. In 1703 Buxte-

* TRANS. NOTE.—The straits between Zealand and Sweden.

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hude was visited by Handel, and in 1705 by Johann Sebastian Bach, both of them so greatly indebted to him in many ways, having made the pilgrimage in acknowledgment of the inspiration afforded by his noble example.

Besides Buxtehude we should also mention **Johann Pachabel**, of Nüremburg (1653-1706), who played so important a part in the history of organ music, and wrote cantatas as well; **Friedrich Wilhelm Zachow** (1663-1712); and **Johann Kuhnau** (1660-1722), Johann Sebastian Bach's predecessor at the Saint Thomas' Church, in Leipsic.

In Germany the religious cantata found a chosen land, where it was destined to prosper and produce the fairest fruits.

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CHAPTER VI

INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

It is during the seventeenth century that instrumental music definitely establishes its complete independence, and produces its first masterpieces.

Let us rapidly study its development in France, then Italy, then Germany.

In France it is *clavecin music* which takes first place.

Du Caurroy, in 1610, already had published his "*Fantaisies*" in three, four, five, and six parts, which resumed the technic of the last years of the sixteenth century, a manner of writing purely vocal, or, at any rate, abstract. More and more, however, the contrapuntal style was abandoned for the monodic style.

The vogue of the *lute* at the beginning of the seventeenth century contributed largely to this new orientation of instrumental composition. The lute was then, above all others, the instrument of virtuosity and expression. Little by little it was supplanted by the *clavecin*, and it is worth noting that the manner in which the lutenists wrote exerted a great influence on the style of the *clavecinists*.

Quittard, who has made a study of the French lute school of the seventeenth century, and the works which it produced, speaks of their "subtle, profound, melancholy, heroic or meditative charm." The lutenists wrote suites of dances with expressive ornamentation, and preludes very free in form and rhythm. A certain **Pinel** seems to have been the most noteworthy among them. Others were **Gautier**, **Mésangerau**, **Merville**, **Chancy**, and later **Mouton** and **Gallet**, who prolonged the art of their predecessors beyond the year 1660.

The lute was succeeded by the *theorbo*, a kind of low-pitched lute, reserved for accompaniment of the voice. Yet herewith

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the rôle of the lute as a solo instrument practically comes to an end, and the clavecin becomes the fashionable instrument of virtuosity.

In the first works of the French clavecinists we notice certain irregularities of rhythm, certain displacements of accent, certain suspensions of the resolution of harmonies whence results an impression of tonal and metrical indecision, which is attributable to the survival of practices adopted by the lutenists in order to obviate certain technical difficulties inherent in the playing of their instrument. The signs for the *agréments* (graces), pass from lute music to clavecin music. The clavecin, which lacked expression, supplemented the lack by largely extending this process of ornamentation, which was not essential for the lute in the same degree.

The French clavecin school begins to struggle successfully with that of the lute in the first years of the seventeenth century. In 1629 Mersenne praises **André Champion de Chambonnières** (b. 1605 or 1606), a grandson of organists and a spinet-player, who later became first chamber clavecinist to Louis XIV. Chambonnières was destined to find imitators in every land; his heritors were Couperin and Rameau and, indirectly, Johann Sebastian Bach.

There were, in the seventeenth century, four members of the **Couperin** family, all famous clavecinists: the three brothers *Louis* (?1626-1661), *François*, Sieur of Crouilly (?1632-1701), *Charles* (1638-1679), and the son of the last-named, the most remarkable of all, **François Couperin**, surnamed "The Great" (1668-1733).

The Couperin family resembles the celebrated Bach family. Like the Bachs in Germany, the Couperins supplied France with music for two entire centuries. Seven among them, not counting the great Couperin, were organists of Saint-Gervais, in Paris, from 1665 to 1826. All of them, these as well as the rest, were more than obscure workers, they were artists of reputation.

François Couperin, "The Great," published four books of *Pièces de Clavecin* (1713, 1716, 1722, 1730), the *Art de toucher le clavecin* (1717), the *Goûts réunis* (1724), the *Apothéose de*

l'incomparable Lully, the *Trios* for two viols and bass, the *Leçons des Ténèbres*, and other works. He excelled in the *genre* picture, in character pieces such as "*Sœur Monique*," the "*Bavolet flottant*," the "*Moucheron*," the "*Barricades mystérieuses*," the "*Vieux galants*," the "*Trésorières surannées*," etc.

Couperin played an important part in the history of music. He prepared the classic age from afar, the age of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. He already is a member of their family. More than any other he contributed to form that simple musical language, clear, effortless, and clean-cut, which was that of all the great masters of the end of the eighteenth century, and which he spoke half a century before them. It was a language which Bach never used with the same purity he did, though he frequently took it for a model; an idiom which dispenses with the great variety of the ancient modes, the great freedom of rhythms and harmonies hitherto in use, employing these riches with restraint, yet gaining in unity, in distinction, in clarity, in precision, and at times in power, whatever it lost in diversity and color. The whole world agrees in praising Couperin's exquisite elegance, his rare finesse, his inimitable purity of diction. And this is not saying enough. Under a somewhat superficial appearance of frivolity is concealed a deep and penetrant feeling for essentially musical beauty. No one before him, nor in his own day, in any land had as yet composed works of such firmness of design, such suppleness of development, of so taking a charm and such finished perfection. In Couperin we find a flowing grace, a mysterious tenderness, a divine ease which only Mozart rediscovers at a later date.

Couperin is one of the miracles of the French spirit in music, and across the gulf of time he clasps hands on one side with Jannequin and Costeley, on the other with Fauré and Debussy.

Aside from François Couperin, **D'Angelbert** and **Le Bègue** should also be mentioned among seventeenth-century clavecinists.

Together with these *clavecinists* France possessed a brilliant school of *organists*; or, rather, all her *clavecinists* were organists at the same time, and treated the organ in the somewhat light style of the *clavecin*. **Jean Titelouze**, born in Saint-Omer, in

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1564, is the founder of the French organ school. After him **André Raison**, **Jacques Boyvin**, **Louis Marchand** (1669-1732), signalized themselves in particular. We might also mention **Nicolas de Grigny** (1671-1703), whose organ compositions only are known to us (an exceptional case!) and whose delicacy and distinction deserve the highest praise.

During the seventeenth century there was but very little music written in France for the viol or flute. These instruments, in most cases, confined themselves to doubling the upper part in a clavecin composition.

The wind instruments, above all, found their place in the court festivals. The *musique de la grande écurie du Roi* ("the music of the king's stables")* was intrusted with the function of supplying all the musical factors necessary for the carousels, the processionals, the balls, and ballets. It was divided into five departments: the trumpets (twelve in number); the fifes and drums (eight); the large oboes (twelve); the cromornes; the oboes and Poitou bag-pipes (four to six). The twelve players on the large oboes were more exactly defined as "players of violins, oboes, sackbuts and cornets." Without doubt, before the creation of the band of the "King's Twenty-four Violins," the band of the *écuries* supplied orchestras of string instruments for the balls.

In Italy it is the violin which takes on a very special importance, and gives rise to that very fecund form of development known as the *sonata*.

The word *sonata* means, first of all, the opposite to *cantata*, any instrumental piece, no matter what it might be.

In the beginning the Italian *sonata* was often a church composition, written for organ alone, or for various instruments with the accompaniment of organ, in which last case it was called, at the time, a "church sonata" (*sonata da chiesa*).

Side by side with the church sonata there came into existence a secular sonata, known as the "chamber sonata" (*sonata da*

* TRANS. NOTE.—The name "music of the *grande écurie*," of the king's stables, originated, no doubt, in the various wind instrument players attached to the great hunting establishment of the Bourbon monarchs, who played the hunting-horn and other wind instruments.

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camera). The word "chamber" at the time designated the administration of a princely residence, and *chamber-music* was synonymous with *court music*. The church sonata and the chamber sonata were soon to be merged into a single art form.

The sonata is connected with a genus cultivated since the sixteenth century, the *suite* or *partita*. The suite was composed of a series of dances such as the *allemande* (of Germanic origin, as its name indicates), the *courante* (of French origin), the *sarabande* (of Spanish origin), and the *gigue* (of English origin). It should be mentioned that these pieces, in general, were arranged in such wise that a lively movement always followed a slow one. Hence they showed a symmetry of binary order: slow—lively—slow—lively. The sonata adopted these divisions and these titles, even when the various movements of which it was composed no longer had a dance character. In the end the titles were lost, and only the alternative distribution of the slow and rapid movements remained.

This binary symmetry, which ruled the sonata as a collective composition, is found again in its details. Each piece is divided, in turn, into two parts by a harmonic movement which passes from the tonic to a provisional point of repose on the *dominant*, and then returns from the *dominant* to the *tonic*.

Finally, each movement of the sonata originally had no more than a *single theme*, one developed by imitation and by transposition, but always reappearing as an indecomposable whole having an invariable rhythm; and all these sonata movements were *in the same key*.

This, it is plain, is an art still somewhat rudimentary, and one whose effects do not always escape monotony.

In Italy the *violin* was the instrument most favored by the sonata composers. The violin had been born of the viol through a series of gradual transformations, of which the most important took place toward the beginning of the sixteenth century. The famous viol-making families of the **Amati**, **Guarneri**, and **Stradivari**, in the seventeenth and at the beginning of the eighteenth century, were to bring about its definite perfection as an instrument. The Italian sonata composers from the beginning showed a preference for the *sonata in three parts*, that

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is to say, the sonata for two violins and *basso continuo*, figured bass. They treated the violin part like a part written for a virtuoso singer. The influence of recitative music and of the opera air made itself deeply felt in this new art form; it was above all brilliant, ornate, melodious, and only very rarely achieved real profundity. The Germans, later, were to make use of this new vehicle of expression, so greatly varied, to express far more deeply moving thoughts.

Biagio Marini (1595-1660), was the composer of the first sonata for solo violin (op. 1, "*Affetti musicali*," 1617). **Vitali** (?1644-1692), from 1668 to his death, published all kinds of sonatas for two, three, four, five, and six instruments, and is the true originator of style in Italian chamber-music. **Torelli** (?-1708), for the first time, wrote concertos of the ternary type: *Allegro-Adagio-Allegro*. **Arcangelo Corelli** (1653-1713), was the most gifted of all these violinist composers. He published forty-eight sonatas for three (1683-1694) and twelve sonatas for two (1700) instruments; twelve *concerti grossi* for two violins and concertante 'cello (*concertino obbligato*), accompanied by the two violins, alto and bass (*concerto grosso*). It was Corelli who definitely fixed the type of the "ancient sonata." **Vivaldi** (c. 1680-1743) composed concertos for one or more violins, which were transcribed by Johann Sebastian Bach for organ or for one or more pianos. **Geminiani** (1680-1762) and **Francesco Maria Veracini** (1685-1750) made England acquainted with the violin, and won recognition for it there. **Tartini** (1692-1770) was not only a great musical theoretician (it was he who discovered the *resultant tones*), but at the same time an admirable virtuoso and a prolific sonata composer; his "Devil's Trill" is still famous. **Locatelli** (1693-1746), contributed to the technical development of the violin.

Besides these violin masters Italy, in the seventeenth century and at the beginning of the eighteenth, produced some eminent organists and clavecinists. We might mention the great **Frescobaldi** (1583-1644), whose "*Fiori musicali di diverse compositioni*," "*Toccati*," "*Kyrie*," "*Canzoni*," "*Capricci e Ricercari in partitura a quattro utili per sonatori*" (Venice, 1635), Johann Sebastian Bach recopied with his own hand; the amiable

Bernardi Pasquini (1637-1710); the elegant **Francisco Durante** (1684-1755); and, above all, the marvellous **Domenico Scarlatti**.

Domenico Scarlatti (1685-1755), son of the celebrated Alessandro Scarlatti, founder of the Neapolitan school of opera, wrote works delicate in inspiration, free in style, natural and inexhaustibly varied, which set a date in the history of instrumental music. Scarlatti's art achieves in a manner quite remarkable a fusion of all sorts of different elements, first among them the church and the chamber sonatas. He also borrowed many of the ornamental processes of the light and graceful French technic; and finally deflected the sonata toward new destinies and prepared the great transformation which it was to undergo in the day of Philip Emmanuel Bach and Haydn. He inclined toward an ampler, more supple, and freer development; there is greater breadth in his sonatas, though they are written very solidly; they are not stifled by polyphony; melody dominates the polyphone work throughout; and, besides, in imitation of the opera aria in three parts, he often builds up his sonatas on a new plan. In place of the binary symphony, which insists that a single theme first be developed in a harmonic movement from tonic to dominant and, again, a second time, in inverse movement, he at times introduces a ternary symmetry in his works; the repetition of the first theme is then separated from its first presentation by the deploy of a different theme, or at least by a reshaping of the first theme. From this point of view Scarlatti is largely in advance of Johann Sebastian Bach and Handel, his contemporaries. Yet, though he outpasses them in the invention of new forms of instrumental music, he decidedly was unable to give them as rich a content, and it will be our duty to show how it was that the Germans, in fact, were able to fructify this admirable technic which they had, in first instance, acquired from the Italians and the French.

* * *

In **Germany** instrumental music developed during the seventeenth century under the dual influence of French and Italian art.

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The *violin sonata* has for its principal representative **Franz von Biber**, born in Wartenberg, Bohemia, in 1644, and who seems to have invented the solo violin sonata, without bass, without accompaniment. In this respect von Biber appears as an important precursor of the great Bach. The German violin school distinguishes itself, among other traits, by the frequent use of the double, triple, and quadruple string, so in keeping with its polyphonic genus.

Yet far more is written in Germany for the organ or clavecin than for violin. The principal names which call for mention in this connection are those of **Johann Froberger** (? 1600–? 1693); **Georg Muffat**, of Schlettstadt (1635–1704), who clearly evinced the intention of reconciling the diverse tendencies of the Italian, French, and German styles in his works; and **Dietrich Buxtehude** (1637–1717), the famous Lübeck organist whom we already have had occasion to mention in connection with his cantatas.

Johann Pachelbel (1653–1706), of Nüremberg, endowed organ composition with greater freedom and suppleness; his toccatas, chaconnes, and chorals with variations approach Bach's manner quite closely, and at times are deeply inspired.

Johann Kuhnau (1660–1722), who immediately preceded Johann Sebastian Bach as organist and *cantor* of the Saint Thomas Church in Leipsic, wrote *chamber sonatas* in several parts for the *clavecin*, like those which the Italians had hitherto composed for the violin (a great novelty), employing a narrative and descriptive style which Johann Sebastian Bach used as a model, at any rate, in his cantatas. It is thus that in the "*Musikalische Vorstellungen einiger biblischen Historien in sechs Sonaten auf dem Klavier zu spielen*" ("Musical Representations of Some Biblical Histories in Six Sonatas to Be Played upon the Clavier"), which appeared in 1700, Kuhnau recounts the "*Combat of Goliath and David*," and "*David's Curing of Saul by the Grace of Music*." Religious subjects still, as so often had been the case before, were preferred by the composer and the public in Germany.

Johann Mattheson, of Hamburg (1681–1764), was the composer of a "*Sonata for the Clavecin*," which he dedicated "to the

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one who would play it best" (1713), and of "*Clavecin Pieces*," in two volumes (1714), in which he imitated the French style. Mattheson had a lively, receptive disposition. He had excellent ideas such as, for instance, that of preferring "the movement of the heart to that of the fingers" in the sonata. This is admirable artistic criticism. A musician far less notable, **Georg Philipp Telemann** (1681-1767), also followed the French manner in his "*Fantaisies for the Clavecin*"; he liked to indicate the character and movement of his pieces by such words as: *tenderly, graciously, gaily, animatedly, melodiously*.

We have now arrived at the threshold of the eighteenth century (or, in fact, even have overstepped it), at the decisive moment when German art, so long dependent on Italian and French art, is at last to win its independence and astonish and instruct, in turn, those who taught it in the beginning.

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CHAPTER VII

JOHANN SEBASTIAN BACH AND HANDEL

Until the beginning of the eighteenth century we look in vain in Germany, either in the domain of religious music or in that of opera, for one of those great artistic figures whose name is handed down through the centuries and remains indefinitely popular, even though his works may be forgotten or little played; figures such as that of Palestrina in Italy, or Lully in France. It is only with the appearance of Johann Sebastian Bach and of Handel that Germany takes her place in the first rank of the musical nations of Europe. The eighteenth-century Italians, however, long questioned whether a *Tedesco*, a German, could be anything but a barbarian, and this prejudice existed at least until Mozart's day.

Johann Sebastian Bach carried religious musical art, for which his predecessors already had shown such notable aptitude, to its perfection. Handel, on the other hand, especially in the eyes of his contemporaries, was one of the first opera composers of his time.

There are epochs marked by harvests of masterworks. We should bear in mind that at the time Bach and Handel made Germany illustrious, Rameau was living in France, and Domenico Scarlatti in Italy.

* * *

The Bach family had produced musicians for well-nigh two hundred years. *Veit Bach*, a Thuringian baker, who had established himself in Presburg toward the end of the sixteenth century, already was a musician. "His greatest pleasure," Johann Sebastian tells us, "was to use a small zither, which he took with him to the mill to play, while the mill-wheel was moving. Admirable consonance! Yet thus it was that he learned to keep time. This was the beginning of music in the family." It is thought that Veit Bach returned to his native countryside,

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near Arnstadt, about 1597, to escape persecution and adhere to the Lutheran faith. All his descendants, down to Johann Sebastian, became professional musicians. Johann Christoph (1642-1703), Johann Sebastian's uncle, organist of Eisenach in the year 1665, was the most remarkable of them all before the advent of Johann Sebastian. Every year the Bachs celebrated a great family reunion, which at times united as many as 120 members, and in these joyous festivals music quite naturally played a part, the executants were available, and the chorus ready-made. There were even family archives, in which compositions by the most famous members of the clan were piously preserved.

Johann Sebastian Bach was born in Eisenach, March 31, 1685. His father, Johann Ambrosius, began his musical education by teaching him the violin. But at the age of ten Johann Sebastian became an orphan, and was brought up by his brother, Johann Christoph, pursuing his studies at the Ohrdruff Lyceum. He continued to cultivate music with passion. It is said that his brother, having refused to loan him a book of clavecin pieces by Forberger, Kerl, and Pachabel, the boy managed to obtain possession of it, and copied it secretly at night, by moonlight. All his life long Johann Sebastian Bach copied and recopied the works of the masters. It was in this way that he entered into intimate relations with them, and as a result of paying respectful homage to their knowledge, raised himself above their level. In 1700 Johann Sebastian left his brother, and was accepted as a choir-boy in the *Sanct Michel-Schule* of Lüneburg. He now made great strides in advance, musically; a well-furnished musical library and an excellent organ being available. During his vacations he went to Hamburg to hear the organist *Reinken*, who attracted a great deal of attention, and he visited the court of Celle, where French music, notably that of *Couperin*, was played.

In 1703 Johann Sebastian Bach left the Lüneburg school and entered the orchestra of Prince Johann Ernst of Saxe-Weimar as a violinist. At the end of four months he resigned his place and engaged himself in Arnstadt as organist; despite his youth he had been accepted at a first hearing. He was accorded a

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salary of 275 francs per year, quite a notable stipend for the time. Here he had an opportunity to compose, and here it was, in fact, that he wrote his first works. In 1705 he obtained a leave of absence to go and hear *Buxtehude*, in Lübeck. But he stayed away four months in place of one. He was reprimanded; a strained situation ensued, and he tried to leave his post. In 1707 he obtained the position of organist of Saint Blasius, at Mühlhausen, in Thuringia. It was there, in 1706, that he published his first important work, the "Cantata for the Municipal Election." Already he was becoming better known.

In 1706 he assumed the duties of organist to the court of Weimar, and at the same time played the violin in its orchestra. He remained there nine years, studied the Italian masters, *Vivaldi* in particular, and wrote some of his finest organ compositions. In 1714 he was appointed *Konzertmeister*, that is to say, first solo violinist. He made virtuoso tours to Leipsic and to Dresden. It was in Dresden that the French organist, *Marchand*, one day was to measure forces in a species of musical tourney with Johann Sebastian. The story goes that at the last moment he preferred to leave the city surreptitiously rather than expose himself to a humiliating defeat.

In 1717 Johann Sebastian Bach was refused the position of choirmaster and conductor which had become vacant in Weimar. He was, however, offered the same post at the court of Köthen, and accepted the offer. The prince of Anhalt-Köthen was a Calvinist. Hence in his service it was a question only of church music, and it was there that Johann Sebastian Bach composed the majority of his chamber-music works. The first book of *The Well-Tempered Clavichord*, notably, dates from the year 1722 (the second was not written until 1740). At the end of a few years Johann Sebastian Bach experienced the need of once more finding an organ, choruses, and a church in which music was tolerated, and he abandoned his position—a brilliant one—at Köthen.

In 1723 he was made *cantor* at the Sanct Thomas Schule, in Leipsic, succeeding Johann Kuhnau, and it was there that he wrote his great cantatas and was destined to end his days. In Leipsic Bach was very well paid: he received 700 *Thalers* per

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annum, and enjoyed some other incidental perquisites. Yet his duties were heavy; first of all, he was responsible to all and to none: the rector of the school, the city council, the consistory. In addition he shouldered the trying task of teaching pupils who were very undisciplined, turbulent, and loutish. It was his duty to look to the service of four churches at the same time, and he was obliged to content himself with very restricted forces for the performances which he directed; he probably never succeeded in uniting a choir of more than sixteen singers, and an orchestra of more than eighteen or twenty instruments. The number of the executants, however, was often less, and their lack of skill tried poor Bach's temper severely. In Leipsic Bach had many difficulties, many annoyances; nevertheless, he was happy. He lived in comfort, enjoyed the family life he so dearly loved, entertained such artists as might be passing through the town, and led a virtuous, patriarchal existence. His three last years were overcast by a grievous infirmity: he gradually lost his eyesight.

His reputation as an organist spread throughout all Germany. It is said that he one day undertook a trip to Berlin. Frederick the Great, having been apprised of his arrival, immediately interrupted a concert in which he was playing his flute part, crying: "Gentlemen, old Bach has arrived!" ("*Der alte Bach ist da!*") He at once had him sent for, still in his travelling garb, and insisted that he improvise on all the instruments in the palace—notably a fugue in six parts, which Bach handled in a manner that roused the admiration of his auditors. Even his enemies acknowledged his incomparable mastery as a virtuoso; one among them, *Scheibe*, has written in this connection: "He is the most eminent among instrumental players. He is an extraordinary artist on the clavecin and on the organ, and has encountered but one musician who might pretend to rival him. At various times I have heard this great man play. One marvels at his dexterity, and it is hard to imagine it possible for him to cross his hands and feet in so unique and rapid a manner, to stretch them out and embrace the greatest intervals without the intermixture of a single false note, and without displacing his body, in spite of this violent agitation."

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Yet greatly as the virtuoso was admired, his compositions were quite as much discussed. Scheibe, already mentioned, reproaches Johann Sebastian Bach's music with a lack of charm and spontaneity, calls it complicated, turgid, and obscure. This was because Italian opera music was spreading in Germany in an ever-increasing degree, and its facile charm led to a disdain for artistic delights of a more serious order. When Johann Sebastian Bach's *The Art of Fugue* was published by his son Emanuel, the latter could dispose of no more than thirty copies in all, and, disgusted, he sold the plates for what they weighed. The death of the old master (1750) was not noticed, and his name was well-nigh forgotten for some fifty years. One day (1789) Mozart, passing through Leipsic, attended a religious ceremony at the Sanct Thomas Schule, at which Bach was played. He was surprised and delighted, and cried: "At last I have heard something new, and have learned something!" Mozart's words drew attention to the venerable cantor's works. Later Mendelssohn and Schumann undertook a veritable campaign in order to force their contemporaries to admire the Bach cantatas; up to that time practically the only work of his known was "*The Well-Tempered Clavichord*." Finally, in 1850, the *Bachgesellschaft* (the Bach Society) was formed, whose object was to honor the great man's memory, principally by the publication of a monumental edition of his complete works.

Johann Sebastian Bach was a good German *bourgeois*, a family man, a home body. In Mühlhausen he had married Maria Barbara Bach, whom he had the misfortune to lose in Köthen, in 1720. In 1721 he remarried, his second bride being the gifted young daughter of a charming soprano, Anna Magdalena Wülken. It was for this lady that he wrote his two delightful albums ("*Clavier-Büchlein der Anna Magdalena Bach-in*") containing *lieder* and *French suites*. By these two marriages Bach had twenty children, nine girls and eleven boys, some of the latter becoming composers of talent.*

* WILHELM FRIEDMANN (1710-1784), the older, was the most gifted of all, but led a disorderly life and came to a lamentable end, leaving behind him, however, some remarkable works. KARL PHILIPP EMANUEL (1714-1788), the second son, was the inventor of the classic sonata. JOHANN CHRISTIAN (1735-1782), the youngest, acquired a great reputation, first in Italy, then in England, as an opera composer.

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Johann Sebastian Bach was deeply religious, and it was not merely as a professional that he wrote his church cantatas; he enveloped his religious faith and his cult of music in the same development of thought.

Plain, modest, he never even suspected the greatness of his genius. Humble in his admirations, he passed his time studying the works of his predecessors and his contemporaries; he was filled with regret when he missed an opportunity of meeting Handel, whose genius he greatly appreciated. Bach did not write for posterity, nor even for the Germany of his day. His ambition did not pass beyond the limits of the city in which he lived, the church in which he was active. Each week he labored for the Sunday to come, preparing a new work or revising an old one. The work performed, he put it back in its covers without dreaming of publishing it, or even preserving it for his own use. Never were masterpieces more naïvely conceived or realized.

Johann Sebastian Bach's *instrumental music* comprises his *organ music* and his *sonatas and concertos* for various instruments.

Among his organ compositions the "*Variierte Choräle*" (chorals with variations) and "*Die Kunst der Fuge*" (*The Art of Fugue*), rank first. For the broad, slow, chorale melody Bach invented all sorts of variations which are not merely ornamental, but also serve as an interpretation, a commentary on the pious thoughts which the chorale awakens in the souls of the faithful. His style is, at the same time, descriptive and psychological. Thus on the chorale "*Ach wie flüchtig, ach wie nichtig*" ("How vain and fugitive is the life of man"), Bach wrote music which evokes all the illusion of fluid and impalpable forms, moving in an atmosphere of dreams, and at the same time filling the auditor with a sentiment of the most poignant sadness. He illustrates his text materially and morally, and thus often attains effects of rare power. These chorales with variations are in reality grandiose religious poems.

On the other hand, Johann Sebastian Bach gave an extraordinary development to the organ fugue.

The word *fugue* originally designated what we know as the *canon*, and *canon* signified the rule according to which the differ-

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ent voices came into play, pursuing and evading each other. The *canon*, as we understand it, is the simplest and most rigorous form of imitation: it consists in the superimposition of various fragments of a melody, which is taken up by two, three, four, or five voices, one after the other, at intervals of time fixed in advance. The fugue is no more than a less rigorous and more extensively developed canon. One voice first exposes the *subject*, then a second takes it up in the interval of the fifth (this repetition is known as the *answer*); while the first voice accompanies the second by means of a counterpoint, or *counter-subject*; then the third voice in turn takes up the subject again, this time in the original key, and so on successively, until all the fugal voices have come into play. The fugue is a *real fugue* when the *answer* exactly reproduces the original subject, in the dominant key; it is a *tonal fugue* when the answer modifies the subject in order to avoid modulation.

Once all the parts or voices have made their entry the *exposition* is at an end, though it may be resumed several times should the order of the entries be varied; and a *counter-exposition* even may occur when the answer is produced before the subject. All these expositions may be separated by *episodes*. Then comes the *development*, which, through various modulations, leads us to the dominant of the key-note, and then moves to the *final development* or *péroration*, as a rule employing the *stretto* (the return in compact form of all the elements composing the fugue) above the *organ point* (the development carried out upon a persistent hold in the bass), and finally to the *cadence*. In detail the fugue allows of an infinite number of varieties. It is usually preceded by a prelude in free style.

The fugue represents an effort to construct a musical work with a minimum of possible elements, in order to attain a maximum of complexity and diversity with this minimum of components. The stumbling-block in this form of composition is pedantry and empty technical dexterity void of inspiration. But in Bach's case it supplied a novel spur to urge him to manipulate these difficulties in writing, and some among his fugues must be counted among the most profound and expressive of his compositions. This was because he never sacrificed

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musical beauty to scholastic correctness; he poked fun at rules on occasion, and especially advised his pupils to "sing" at all costs.

Bach's *clavier music* is remarkable in many ways: and none are ignorant of the diverse merits of *The Well-Tempered Clavichord*. It contains pages charming, dramatic, and grandiose. We will merely touch upon two important innovations which Johann Sebastian Bach introduced into *clavessin playing*. First, he helped perfect its fingering by generalizing the use of the thumb and the little finger, and by preconizing the recurved position of the fingers. Until the beginning of the eighteenth century, in the majority of cases only three fingers, which were held flabbily stretched out, were used while playing. The following example, for instance, will show how the ascending scale of C major was ordinarily fingered:

	C	D	E	F	G	A	B	C
Right hand	3	4	3	4	3	4	3	4
Left hand	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	3

The following remark from an old treatise might be quoted: "Yet what should you do with your thumb? You cannot stretch it up into the air, consequently you must rest it on the wood of the clavier; there it will be safe, and will not hang down lazily, but at least serve to support the hand."

In addition, Johann Sebastian applied the *legato organ touch* to the clavier keyboard, and discovered the principle of *alternate* or *substitution fingering*.

On the other hand, wishing to play in every key, he adopted a manner of tuning the clavessin which maintained practically the same relation among the various degrees of the scale throughout all the keys; hence no single tonality was rigorously in tune, yet the deviation of none was appreciable. This system of tuning is known as that of *equal temperament*, and explains the title of *The Well-Tempered Clavichord*, which Bach gave his two collections of preludes and fugues in all the major and minor keys.

The Bach *sonatas for violin and for clavessin* differ widely from the Italian sonatas; in the latter the violin plays a solo which is accompanied by a figured bass, preferably realized upon the

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clavessin, but which may be played quite as well on the organ, and which has a purely accompanimental character. In the Bach *sonatas* the violin does not play the leading part, its music is concerted with that of the clavessin. The clavessin part is not a figured bass; it is entirely carried out by the composer's hand. Besides, it is evidently not written to be played upon any other instrument. The style of these *sonatas* is not the recitative style, the opera style in the Italian fashion, nor yet the gallant style of the French and English, born of the dance tune. The *sonatas* are in the severe, the polyphonic style. Usually they are written for three parts, in imitation: the violin plays one of these parts, and each one of the keyboard player's two hands the other parts. This arrangement is one altogether Bachian, and employed in the happiest manner.

In his *Sonatas for Solo Violin* Johann Sebastian Bach has taken care to draw all its effects from the solo instrument, even polyphonic ones, whose concept, at first glance, might seem the most paradoxical; yet he attains his end, and none since have been able to imitate him.

In his *concertos*, on the contrary, he seems to have tried to exhaust all the possible combinations of instrumental resources then existent. He wrote for two, three, and four concertant clavessins, with the accompaniment of the orchestral quartet; for violin, flute, oboe trumpet, or for violin and two flutes with the same accompaniment; for three violins, three altos, three 'cellos, and bass, etc. The problem of the ensemble composition was never complex enough to suit his taste; the number of individual parts he could manipulate never seemed sufficient, even when, as in the case of the "*Saint Matthew's Passion*," he disposed of three choirs, two orchestras, and two organs.

It is in his *cantatas* that Johann Sebastian Bach compels our greatest admiration for the diversity of his genius, his prodigious "craftsmanship," and his wealth of sensibility. Aside from his secular cantatas Bach wrote some 250 religious cantatas; there were five collections, each of which responded to the exigencies of the cult for all the festivals of the year. One hundred and ninety of them have been preserved. They are composed of the following elements: as a base there is the *chorale*;

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it often begins and ends the cantata; it supplies the themes which are developed in the large *choruses*; its spirit animates the entire work. *Recitatives*, at times in *dialogue* or in *chorus*, expose either the religious narrative or the pious thought which is the subject of the cantata. And *arias*, *duos*, and *trios* then supply the lyric or sentimental commentary. It is in his chorales, his choruses, and his recitatives that Johann Sebastian Bach is, perhaps, most grand, most profound, and also most equal to himself. His arias, built up in three parts, with a reprise, in the Italian style, are at times admirable, but also, on occasion, lacking in warmth and in life, and above all devoid of devotional accent. It appears as though Bach, while writing them, had thought of pleasing by using the methods then in fashion. Their profane and mundane character, their attractive outfitting in certain instances becomes altogether shocking, when it is not merely empty and tiresome. Johann Sebastian Bach, no doubt, was hampered by this by the monotony of the Italian aria's design; he needed more liberty. The defect is especially noticeable in his more extended works, the "*Weinachts-oratorium*," the "*Sanct Johannes Passion*," and the "*Matthäus Passion*." It is the mark of time evident in works which, nevertheless, must be counted among the most astounding ever composed.

We might here recall that Bach wrote four short masses ("*Missæ brevis*"), and especially a "*Mass in B-flat minor*," which is one of his masterpieces. It was intended for the choir of the elector of Saxony, to whom, in 1733, he dedicated his "*Kyrie*" and his "*Credo*."

Johann Sebastian Bach, like Kuhnau, like Rameau, like nearly all his predecessors and contemporaries, gave a great place in his art to the imitation of physical nature, or to the musical transcription of material images contained in his poetic texts, or suggested by them. Scholarly musicologists, Schweitzer and Pirro, have taken pains to supply us with a sort of musical dictionary of Bach's language in this connection. They have noticed, in fact, that Bach, in order to designate the same things or the same phenomena, always used expressions either identical or analogous.

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Yet this circumstance, perhaps, has been too much dwelt upon: it might lead one to believe that Bach's whole greatness consisted in this minuteness of musical cabinet-work; in the invention of these signs, so exactly defined; in his skill in this word-for-word translation, which allows not an iota of the original meaning, or even its shades of meaning, to escape. Nothing of the sort. Bach was an incomparable craftsman; his means of expression, his constructive processes were innumerable, and he handled them with extraordinary diversity and matchless flexibility. Yet craftsmanship is not genius. Others before him, even in his own day, had been extraordinary workmen, and their very names, or at all events their works, have been forgotten. What matter if a particular work be an exact and complete translation of a thought or a text, if first of all it is not beautiful and affecting? It is not the exactness, pure and simple, of a musical painting which constitutes its beauty, or which moves the soul. And if Johann Sebastian Bach has remained one of the colossuses of music, we may be certain first of all that it is due, not to his descriptive science, but to his delicate feeling for harmonious forms, and the intensity of his spiritual life. Even those who fail to grasp the "meaning" of his music, nevertheless are charmed and touched by it when they yield to the impressions produced upon their ear and heart.

What we here wish to make clear is that Bach, in a sense, is a *primitive*. He has the primitive's naïveté of inspiration, his taste for color, for infinitely minute and picturesque detail as well as for complication of ensemble. All in all, these are defects, if anything, defects which at times enchant us, yet which often interrupt the continuity of a work and cause us to lose sight of its unity.

Johann Sebastian Bach was a sort of monster; he unites within himself the opposing tendencies of several centuries, which he resumes or heralds. He derives from the Middle Ages through his polyphony and his love for description, is allied to the eighteenth century by his dramatic recitatives and his arias, and to the French seventeenth century by his elegance and his cultivation of ornament; while at the same time he pre-

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pare the gravid and somewhat ponderous, yet profound and puissant art of the aging Beethoven or Richard Wagner.

Handel's life offers a striking contrast to that of Johann Sebastian Bach. In the same degree that Bach was modest, without ambition, content with little, a family man without worldly alliances, Handel, on the contrary, strove for success, for glory, brilliant connections, and fortune.

George Frideric Handel* was born in Halle, Saxony, February 23, 1685, a few weeks before Johann Sebastian Bach. His father was a barber. He had succeeded, however, in obtaining the title of chamberlain and surgeon to the prince of Saxe-Magdeburg and the elector of Brandenburg. George Frideric showed remarkable aptitude for music at an early hour. His parent, however, absolutely opposed his manifest vocation (he had destined his son for the law), and had compelled him to begin his studies. His father dying in 1697, young Handel, respecting his wish, continued his law studies for a time, while giving himself up with ever-increasing passion to music. In 1703 he went to Hamburg, at the time one of the German cities in which music was most cultivated, and which, since 1678, had possessed a permanent opera. There he heard the works of **Keiser** and profited by the advice of **Mattheson**. **Johann Mattheson** (1681-1764), was a very learned musician, a tenor, composer, and orchestral conductor, who in particular wrote a number of works on musical theory, history, and criticism, by means of which he exerted a very beneficial influence on his epoch, and which have furnished posterity with an inexhaustible source of information. Unfortunately, the friendship between Handel and Mattheson lasted but a short time, and ended with a duel, in which Handel was nearly slain. Handel wrote four German operas with Italian intermezzos for the Hamburg stage: "*Almira*" (1705), the only one which has come down to us; "*Nero*" (1705), in which Mattheson sang on the stage for the last time; "*Dafne*" (1708), and "*Florindo*" (1708). Yet even before the performance of the two last-mentioned

* TRANS. NOTE.—The *quasi*-anglicized form of Handel's name which the composer adopted and used in his later English period, has been preferred here.

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scores Handel left Hamburg, and, accepting an invitation from Prince Giovanni Gaston de Médicis, went to Italy, where he remained three years. There he presented two operas, "*Rodrigo*," in Florence, and "*Aggrippina*," in Venice; and two oratorios, "*La Resurrezione*" and "*Il triumpho del tempo e del disinganno*," both performed in Rome. He made the acquaintance of **Lotti**, of the two **Scarlattis**, and of the Abbé Steffani, with whom he left Italy and returned to Hanover, where the abbé handed over to him the musical functions he had exercised at the prince-electors court. Yet Handel soon asked for a leave of absence, and went to England (December, 1710).

Following Purcell's death, the English no longer had a national opera, and Italian opera was all the vogue. The opera "*Rinaldo*" (1711), improvised by Handel in fifteen days, largely with the aid of borrowings from his preceding scores, had a tremendous success. The sale of the score brought the publisher, Walsh, \$10,000, and Handel not a cent. "My dear fellow," Handel told him, "the next time you shall compose the opera, and I will publish it." Handel was obliged to return to Hanover, where he had neglected his official duties a little too cavalierly; but he came back to London in 1712, and on this occasion was more fortunate. His shepherd opera, "*Il Pastor Fido*," and "*Teseo*" were coldly received; but, on the other hand, the "*Te Deum*" he wrote to celebrate the Peace of Utrecht (1713) caused a great stir; thenceforward he was regarded as a second Purcell in England, and Queen Anne granted him a pension of 200 pounds sterling. The prince-electors of Hanover was less content with his services, and when, in 1714, he succeeded Queen Anne on the English throne, he at first held a grudge against the composer for his past delinquencies. The charming open-air music known as the "*Water Musick*," which Handel wrote in his honor, brought about a reconciliation. In 1716 King George I returned to his former electorate of Hanover, taking Handel with him. It was during his stay in Hanover that Handel set Heinrich Brockes's "*Passion*" to music. Returning to London he was, for three years, the guest of the duke of Chandos, and it was at the latter's castle of Canons that he wrote the two "*Chandos Te Deums*,"

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the twelve "*Chandos Anthems*," his pastoral cantata "*Acis and Galatea*," and his first oratorio set to English words, "*Esther*."

Beginning with 1719, the foundation of the *Royal Academy of Music*, subsidized by the king, and for which Handel was charged to recruit the most famous artists of Europe, gave a new orientation to the young master's life. Thenceforward he dedicated himself to the stage and produced in succession: "*Radamisto*" (1720), "*Musio Scevola*" (1721), "*Floridante*" (1721), "*Ottone*" (1723), "*Flavio*" (1723), "*Giulio Cesare*" (1724), "*Tamerlano*" (1724), "*Rodelinda*" (1724), "*Scipione*" (1726), "*Siroe*" (1728), and "*Tolomeo*" (1728).^{*} All these operas were presented with success, not alone in London, but on some of the principal stages of Europe as well, some even in Paris. Handel, in spite of the protection of the king and court, was obliged to struggle against a rival beloved by the public and patronized by the duke of Marlborough, **Giovanni Battista Buononcini**, or **Bononcini** (1672-?1762), who, after notable Venetian successes, had been engaged for London, in 1716, at the new *King's Theatre*. Handel in the end overcame his antagonist, and in 1728 Buononcini left London. That same year, however, the affairs of the *Academy of Music* were in so deplorable a condition that it was obliged to close its doors.

A new society was formed, and the opera-house reopened in September, 1729. Handel then composed for this second academy: "*Lotario*" (1729), "*Partenope*" (1730), "*Poro*" (1732), "*Enzio*," "*Sosarme*" (1732), "*Orlando*" (1733).[†] A second time, however, the society which was managing the enterprise dissolved. Then Handel turned impresario; he hired "Covent Garden" and himself managed a stage, for which he wrote: "*Arianna*" (1734), "*Ariodante*" (1734), "*Alcina*" (1735), "*Atalanta*" (1736), "*Arminio*" (1737), "*Giustino*" (1737), and "*Berenice*" (1737).[‡] Despite all his efforts, all his energy, all his skill he went bankrupt. On this

^{*} TRANS. NOTE.—If we accept Baker's *Biographical Dictionary* as an authority, "*Giulio Cesare*" was produced in 1723 and "*Rodelinda*" in 1725.

[†] TRANS. NOTE.—According to Baker, "*Poro*" and "*Enzio*," 1731; "*Sosarme*" and "*Orlando*," 1732.

[‡] TRANS. NOTE.—According to Baker, "*Arisdante*," 1735.

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occasion he had been obliged to struggle against the competition first of **Porpora**, then of **Hasse** (1699-1783), one of the most prolific of the Hamburg school. Both, incidentally, were no more fortunate than Handel, and their enterprises did not escape disaster. Handel, notwithstanding, still continued to devote all his attention to opera. At various festivals he gave performances of older works: "*Acis and Galatea*," "*Esther*," the "*Utrecht Te Deum*," and new oratorios, "*Deborah*," "*Athalia*," "*Alexander's Feast*." Exhausted by overwork he suffered a slight stroke, and had to give over everything. A cure at Aix-la-Chapelle, however, did much to restore his robust vigor. Handel returned to London, and at the end of the year 1737 presented "*Faramondo*" and "*Serse*" (according to Baker, 1738). To form an idea of his extraordinary activity it should be remembered that during these years, while writing for the stage, he composed well-nigh all his instrumental music: *twelve sonatas* for violin and bass, *thirteen sonatas* for two violins and bass, *six concerti grossi*, *twenty organ concertos*, and many more.

The year 1740 marked the beginning of a new phase in Handel's career. He definitely abandoned the operatic stage and devoted himself almost exclusively to the composition of his oratorios: "*Saul*" (1739), "*Israel*" (1739), "*L'allegro, il penseroso ed il moderato*" (1740) (according to Baker, 1747); "*The Messiah*" (1742), "*Samson*" (1742), "*Joseph*" (1743), "*Heracles*," "*Belshazzar*" (1745), the "*Occasional Oratorio*," to celebrate the victory of Culloden, and "*Judas Maccabæus*" (1746), "*Semele*" (1743), "*Alexander Balus*" (1747), "*Joshua*" (1748), "*Solomon*," "*Susannah*" (1749), "*Theodora*" (1750), and "*Jephthah*" (1752).*

It is wrong to confound them all under the general designation of "oratorio," because some among them are quite devoid of religious character, notably the species of "dramatic epic" entitled "*Heracles*," which Handel himself calls a "musical drama," and in which Romain Rolland does not hesitate to see "one of the artistic summits of the eighteenth century."

During his last years Handel's sight was greatly weakened; nevertheless he continued to compose and play the organ parts,

* TRANS. NOTE.—According to Baker, "*Judas Maccabæus*," 1747.

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when his works were performed, up to the last moment. He died April 14, 1759. A pompous funeral was accorded his remains, which were interred in Westminster Abbey. The English have adopted him and to this day look upon him as a "national" genius. German though he was, and, on the other hand, steeped in the Italian influence, it cannot be denied that in many respects Handel had become English. In the beginning he actually imitated Purcell, and later he adapted himself to his public and sought to gratify its liking for clearness, correctness, seriousness, and a certain majestic magnificence.

Yet these are merely the external characteristics of his works. Handel's music before all else reflects his soul. He was an impetuous man, addicted to terrible fits of rage, violently passionate, yet endowed with an unconquerable will. And his compositions, in fact, reveal to us great movements of passion ever repressed, always deflected into more regular channels by a conscious and controlling will-power. His art is always impeccable, its forms rigorously correct, its proportions well observed, even in the greatest outbursts, and when emotion is on the point of overflowing. It represents an achievement triumphant in its power, health, and balance. If Handel has the radiance, the charm, the serene purity of the Italians, he lacks their languor, their softness; and they are unable to attain or even to approach him in strength. Handel has an essentially dominating character, which we do not rediscover until we reach Gluck and Beethoven, both of whom, incidentally, have recognized the relationship between their genius and his. Certain among Handel's operatic pages, perhaps, show forth the creative wealth of his nature even better than the most famous passages in his oratorios, and at times we ask ourselves: What masterpieces could not such a man have written for the stage had not the chains of fashion bound him to the use of the dry and withering formulas of the Neapolitan school!

* * *

Handel and Johann Sebastian Bach were actual contemporaries; this accounts for the fact that the name of one is hardly ever mentioned without that of the other; and that one

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is tempted to search for all sorts of analogies between the two masters, and to confuse the most divergent reasons which cause them both to be admired. In reality, the art of Johann Sebastian Bach is opposed to that of Handel in most of its characteristics.

Goethe, hearing Mendelssohn play a Bach overture, said: "I seem to behold a procession of great men, clad in ceremonial dress, descending a magnificent staircase!" The sentence is one which has often been cited. Yet there is none which conveys a more erroneous idea of what the old Leipsic cantor wished to be, and what he really was. Johann Sebastian Bach's music is not pompous, not theatrical; it is not court music, not gala music. When, by chance, Bach wished to develop effects of this kind he showed himself constrained; it was evident that he was contradicting his own nature. His music was essentially introspective music; he did not think of the multitude for which he composed; he turned inward upon himself and gave us the result of his meditations, in which he relieves himself of the gentle confidences of a tender heart. Even in the most grandiose and eloquent moments of his "*Passions*" he still remains intimate. Let us add that his highly refined art addresses itself especially to the connoisseur.

Handel wrote for the world, for the court, for the stage. His music is naturally brilliant; he has the gift for clear sonorities and powerful rhythms, which make a physical impression on the crowd, exalt and carry it away. His breadth and simplicity of design make his work illuminating, he is popular.

Bach's art is a perpetual feat of strength; it endeavors to tell all at once, and say it in a single word; his richness of conception unceasingly overflows his means of execution, the more so since he takes pleasure in constraining his ideas within the narrowest and most rigid forms. Great though this art might be, it was not understood by Bach's contemporaries, who regarded it as belonging to the past.

Handel sacrifices all which might disturb the harmonic clarity of his ensemble; he makes choice of what he wishes to say, he is sober, concise; if he employs polyphonic complications he avoids embarrassing himself with them, and often rejects

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them to return to the simple air of accompanied monody; he already presages another age; he is well-nigh a classic.

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The new era, the real classic age, in first instance was prepared by the men who, contemporaries of Johann Sebastian Bach and Handel, allowed themselves to be borne unresistantly away by the sweeping current of Italian music, and who deliberately renounced the old, scientific polyphony. He followed the fashion. The Italian opera imposed its dominance on all Europe (except, at all events, France). These men imitated its forms. To-day well-nigh forgotten, in their own time they won a renown at least equal to that of Handel; and beside them it might be said that Johann Sebastian Bach did not count. For the Germans of the middle of the eighteenth century the three greatest names in Teutonic music were those of Telemann, Hasse, and Graun.

Georg Philipp Telemann (1681-1771), lived to be ninety, was prodigiously fecund, and wrote twelve complete cantata cycles for all the festivals of the church year, nineteen passions, operas, serenades, overtures, and chamber-music. A great lover of French music, he claimed that he had harmonized its spirit with that of Italian music in his compositions.

Johann Adolf Hasse (1699-1782), composed over a hundred operas in the Italian style. He had married one of the most famous singers of his day, *la Faustina*. He reigned in Dresden, Vienna, and in southern Germany. This German, for some thirty or forty years, was the "Italian" opera composer most in vogue in Germany, in England, and even in Italy. One might say that Hasse blazed the way for Mozart, for in one sense this is true.

Karl Heinrich Graun (1701-1759), was the Hasse of north Germany. He lived in Berlin, then in Hamburg, and he too composed a large number of operas in the Italian manner.

Posterity has forgotten the names of these musicians, illustrious in an older day. Is this unjust? One might think so. Yet such is not our opinion. Telemann, Hasse, and Graun appeared to be innovators; they were nothing of the sort. In

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them we find no trace of audacity, of boldness. Johann Sebastian Bach was the audacious genius who did not abandon the fugue and the thorough-composed style in spite of the public's dislike for his manner of writing. The others were merely servile flatterers, who followed the road of least resistance, that of immediate success. They invented nothing; they imitated the art of Italy and passed for innovators because they renounced the traditions established in their native land. Yet they betrayed Germany. German art, owing to them, was greatly compromised. It is to Gluck, to Haydn, to Mozart, to Beethoven that the honor of having regained possession of the spirit of the race, in danger of taking flight, belongs. They, however, did not allow anything which German music might have gained by way of suppleness, brilliance, and expressional ease through its long contact with Italian music to be lost.

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CHAPTER VIII

RAMEAU

The life of **Jean-Philippe Rameau** is not at all well known. He was born in Dijon, 1683. His father was an organist, probably of the church of Saint-Étienne. "He taught his children music," says Maret,* "even before they learned how to read." Little Jean-Philippe studied at the Jesuit college, yet no doubt in a very careless way. "While the classes were in session, he sang or wrote music." In 1701, at the age of eighteen, he left Italy. But he stopped at Milan, and then returned to France. Later he regretted not having pushed forward on his voyage, and having made a longer stay in the country where, so he thought, "he would have perfected his taste." For some time he led a wandering life, he travelled from city to city, playing the organ in the churches; it is even possible that he accompanied some ambulant troupe as a violinist. In 1702 he was appointed organist of the cathedral of Clermont. There he spent some tranquil and fruitful years, wrote his first book of "*Pièces de clavecin*," and probably the three cantatas, "*Médée*," "*l'Absence*," and "*Impatience*," "which," says Maret, "had the greatest success in the provinces." In 1706, eager to make himself known by other works and in other places, he abruptly broke the contract which bound him to the Clermont cathedral. Maret, in this connection, tells the following anecdote: "The Saturday of Corpus Christi week, at morning prayers, having mounted to the organ-bench, Rameau merely placed his hands on the keyboard in the first and second verses, then withdrew, slamming the door after him. It was thought that the prompter was missing, and the incident made

* The physician Maret was charged by the Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters, of Dijon, of which he was the perpetual secretary, to write Rameau's eulogy.

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no further impression. At evening prayer, however, it was no longer possible to mistake his attitude, and it was plain that he had decided to express his own discontent by that which he caused others. He pulled the most untuneful organ-stops, and mingled as many dissonances as possible. In vain an effort was made to give him the usual signal to induce him to cease playing; it was necessary to send a choir-boy with the message. As soon as the latter appeared Rameau left the organ and walked out of the church. He had handled his mixture of stops and his ensemble of the most crying dissonances with so great an art that connoisseurs admitted that Rameau alone could have managed to play so unpleasantly. The chapter reproached him, but his reply was that he would never play in any other way if they persisted in refusing to liberate him. It was plain that he could not be made to abandon the resolution he had taken. The authorities gave in, his contract was cancelled, and during the following days he showed his satisfaction and recognition by playing the most admirable pieces on the organ." The story is not authenticated, yet it is entirely in keeping with Rameau's character.

Freed from his obligations toward the Clermont cathedral, Rameau went to Paris, where he published the first book of his "*Pièces de clavecin*," and where he lived, rather poorly and quite unknown, for several years. He was mainly busied with educating himself, studying Zarlino and Mersenne,* and preparing his own new theory of harmony.

In 1715 he went to Dijon to attend his brother's wedding. A little later he stopped in Lyon. Finally he returned to Clermont, where he reassumed the position of organist which he had given up a few years before. Here, in calm and silence, he completed the work which he had so long had at heart, the *Traité de l'harmonie reduite à ses principes naturels*, which he published in Paris, in 1722.

He then at once left Clermont and returned to Paris (1723).

* Zarlino (1517-1590), a celebrated musical theoretician, whose *Institutioni harmoniche* appeared in 1558. Father Mersenne (1588-1648), the friend of Descartes, of Hughens, etc., wrote a *Harmonie universelle* (1636-1637), which is an inexhaustible mine of historical information.

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Here he published a *Nouveau système de musique théorique* (1726), which is a simpler presentation of his ideas on harmony, and by means of which he hoped to call the public's attention to himself. The work at once gave rise to discussions and polemics, and he acquired notoriety.

When forty-three he married Marie-Louise Mangot, daughter of one of the king's musicians, nineteen years old, and gifted with a very attractive voice.

He published a second book of the "*Pièces de clavecin*," and then turned his thoughts to the stage. He had but newly made the acquaintance of the farmer-general, Le Riche de la Pouplinière, a great patron of the arts, at whose home much music was played, and operas were performed. La Pouplinière accepted Rameau as his master of music and organist of his choir, and placed his orchestra and his theatre at his disposal. "Monsieur and Madame Rameau," so Maret tells us, "passed their life, so to speak, at M. de la Pouplinière's, either in Paris or in the handsome mansion at Passy."

It was la Pouplinière who asked a fashionable librettist, the Abbé Pellegrin, to write an opera poem for Rameau. Abbé Pellegrin hastened to supply an arrangement of Racine's "*Phèdre*," which he named "*Hippolyte et Aricie*," and which is quite the most objectionable work one could imagine. It contains nothing but gallantries and vapidities; *Phèdre's* rôle is devoid of meaning; its platitude and banality of style are heart-breaking. To such words Rameau, nevertheless, succeeded in writing some of his finest musical numbers. The opera was, first of all, performed in the la Pouplinière home, then at the *Académie nationale de musique* (1733). The public was surprised by a style so novel to it. "The music of this opera," said the *Mercure*, "has been found somewhat difficult to execute"; and little rhymes were circulated anent it.

"Si le difficile est le beau
C'est un grand homme que Rameau.
Mais si le beau, par aventure,
N'était que la simple nature,
Quel petit homme que Rameau!"

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“If difficulties beauty show,
Then what a great man is Rameau.
If beauty, though, by chance should be
But nature’s own simplicity,
Then what a small man is Rameau!”)

“Little by little,” declares Maret, “the performances of ‘*Hippolyte*’ were more largely attended and caused less tumult; applause drowned the cries of a cabal made up of Lully’s admirers which weakened day by day, and the most decided success crowned the composer’s labors, and spurred him on to new efforts.”

“I did not work at opera,” Rameau says, “until I was fifty; nor did I then think myself capable of so doing. I took a chance, was fortunate and kept on.” He “kept on” for a long time, for he wrote thirty-six operas, and did not give over the pursuit of his theoretic studies nor the publication of works on the fundamentals of harmony. In 1735 he presented the “*Indes galantes*”; in 1737, “*Castor et Pollux*,” which had a great success, and at the same time published his *Génération harmonique ou Traité de musique théorique*; in 1739 came “*Dardanus*”; in 1741, the “*Pièces du clavecin en concert*”; in 1749, “*Zoroastre*”; in 1750, the *Démonstration du principe de l’harmonie*; in 1751, “*la Guirlande ou les fleurs enchantées*,” an introit ballet to follow the “*Indes galantes*”; in 1752, the *Nouvelles réflexions sur la démonstration du principe de l’harmonie servant de base à tout art musical*. (During the same year d’Alembert gave out an abstract of Rameau’s ideas in a very clear work: *Éléments de musique théorique et pratique suivant les principes de M. Rameau*.) At seventy-seven Rameau still wrote his “*Paladins*,” and died at eighty (1764).

Rameau was so tall, so thin, so spare, so emaciated that he “seemed a ghost rather than a man.” His features were severe and decided. He is said to have been avaricious and harsh. He was not amiable, and the brutality of his frankness rebuffed the most patient. He was a solitary, meant for meditation and study.

As an artist Rameau was, first of all, remarkable for the excep-

tional preponderance in his nature of intelligence of the mind with regard to his other faculties. He was a thinker who wished thoroughly to understand his art, and who claimed that, thus understanding it, one became master of all invention.

Rameau was an admirable *musical theoretician*. It was he who definitely established the principles of classic harmony. These principles, it is true, had been in use for more than a century, yet in a manner partly inconscient and altogether empiric, and rules which had meaning only for the art of antiquity, or that of the Middle Ages, continued to be invoked. Rameau began by defining the idea of the *chord*, and by establishing *harmony* as a logical antecedent to *melody*. "It seems at first as though harmony were derived from melody, and that the melody which each voice produces becomes harmony in its union." It was thus, in fact, that harmony was conceived in the days of polyphony and counterpoint. "Yet first it is necessary to determine a route to be taken by each of these voices, so that they might agree together. Now, no matter which arrangement of the melody is observed in each particular part, it is hard, not to say impossible, to make them harmonize well if this order of arrangement be not determined by the rules of harmony. . . . Hence harmony and not melody is our guide." The scale is not a primitive formation; it is derived from the fundamental chords of the tonality. Chords are not infinite in number, as the practice of figured bass would seem to indicate. They may be reduced to a small number. If we take into account their *inversions* and their various modifications we notice that they are all derived from two chords: the perfect major chord, formed by the division of a string into its fourth, fifth, and sixth, and the perfect minor chord, formed by multiplying the length of a string by four, by five, and by six. And Rameau regards the *harmonic sounds* as the *physical* foundation of his system of theory. In every chord succession Rameau, when analyzing it, discovers a succession of unexpressed perfect chords (root chords), whose connection determines a series of *cadences* (subdominant or dominant and tonic), and, consequently, a *tonality* with or without modulations.

In addition Rameau asserted that each chord, and each

chord succession, had its individual expression. They were the degrees, the nuances, with which one might depict the emotions; it was enough to have established their methodic classification to be able to translate all the sentiments into music, and thus make *science* the guide to *art*.

This art certain among Rameau's contemporaries have justly found lacking in spontaneity. An admirer of "*Hippolyte et Aricie*" makes the following reservation: "Hearing it moves me but little; I am but slightly stirred; yet I am occupied and entertained; its mechanism is prodigious." From the standpoint of Grimm, of Rousseau, Rameau is above all a scientist, a mathematician, a geometrist.

In reality, Rameau is truly Lully's continuator. Music, in his eyes, as in those of Lully, is an imitation of nature, of the sounds of the spring or the wind, the song of birds, the language of man, the movements of the dance, the gestures of passion. Art has no other rôle than that of exactly describing what exists, and doing so in the simplest manner, accurate expression being beautiful in itself. It is a purely rationalistic conception, identical with that of our classic literature. Yet Rousseau protested against such an ideal in the name of that sentiment to which he wished to assign first importance in literature and in art. It appears strange to us to-day that music should not always have been regarded as the immediate language of sentiment and the unconscious, such as the domain of the mystic, and that in it should have been sought a means of translating ideas or facts for mere intellectual satisfaction. Nevertheless we must be able to grasp this point of view if we are to understand Rameau's art.

The psychological analysis, the musical painting of character and the passions seem to have interested Rameau least. The description of material nature, the composition of dances please him above all else. And, in fact, he writes by preference for instruments: "He did not possess so much facility," says Maret, "in the composition of vocal music as he did in instrumental music, which he had practised from an early age." Even in his operas the vocal parts are ungrateful to sing; we still find the inflexible recitative-arioso of Lully. Rameau rarely allows

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himself to be influenced by Italian melody. It is in his ballets, his symphonies, his clavecin pieces that he excels.

This being the case, how did he come to think of composing operas? It was because the opera, according to the formula established by Lully, was above all a "spectacle" and very little of a tragedy. Stage machinery, fairy effects, and dances occupied a large place in it. And Lully was left behind by Rameau. Collé tells us: "All those who worked with him were obliged to smother their subjects, to mask their poems, to disfigure them in order to supply him with divertissements. These were all that he wanted." So true is this that Laloy, in his fine study of Rameau, is not at fault in concluding that this composer's true glory lies in his dance pieces and his symphonies, and that in a sense he may be regarded as one of the precursors of Berlioz and all the modern composers who write symphonic poems.

His style reflects this very individual trend of his nature. Laloy very ingeniously qualifies it as a "partitioned-off style." It is certain, in fact, that the singular concept which Rameau had of the musical drama, in order to adapt it to the exigencies of his genius, led him to construct each of his operas of a large number of disjointed pieces, each of which, though complete in itself, often harmonized but indifferently well with its predecessor or successor. On the other hand, in Rameau's case, as in Lully's, the use and abuse of the dance intermezzos encouraged the habit of giving a uniform cut to the phrases which, as though following the dancer, rise, descend, and come to rest in such wise that they too are formed of members very strictly defined, and very clearly separated from their neighboring members. This is not a constant fault, yet one which occurs often enough. Is it even a fault? At any rate, it is a sign of the times.

It is clear how far removed Rameau's music is from us, what an effort it is for us to admire its beauties. Nevertheless these beauties are real; in certain instances they are so striking that we notice them at once. It is impossible, for instance, to hear *Theseus's* magnificent phrase in "*Hippolyte et Aricie*," the line beginning "*Puissant maître des flots . . .*" without reacting to

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its manly vigor, its profundity of accent, its noble grace and melancholy charm.

Rameau, falling into a decline with years, said of himself: "From day to day I gain in taste, but I no longer possess genius!"* It is possible that he always had more taste than genius. For this reason, no doubt, did he so prudently confine himself to the conception of the musical drama which he had inherited from Lully, at the very moment when the public commenced to abandon it. The time had come for operas less starched and stiff, less scientific, less ingenious, less "court spectacles," less "feasts for reason," for operas more free and unconstrained, simpler, more popular, with a livelier and more direct emotional appeal. A dual influence was to bring about this alteration in character: that of the *opéra-italien* and that of the *opéra-comique*.

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* TRANS. NOTE.—Whatever genius he may have possessed did not go unrewarded. King Louis XV appointed him composer to the court in 1745, and on the eve of his death honored him with a patent of nobility and the order of Saint Michael.

CHAPTER IX

THE FRENCH "OPÉRA-COMIQUE" AND THE ITALIAN "OPERA BUFFA" IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The monotony and stiffness of opera at the beginning of the eighteenth century, as well as the dearth of great composers after Lully's death, were responsible for the success of the *opéra-comique* in France.

The *opéra-comique*, the French comic opera, was a genus of popular origin. Its first audiences were the crowds at the fairs. It was in 1595 that the *théâtre de la foire Saint-Germain*, which gave performances from February 3 until the Sunday in Passion week, and was under the jurisdiction of the monks of *Saint-Germain-des-Près*, was established. The *foire Saint-Laurent* (Saint Lawrence's Fair) also had its own stage during the months of August and September. In 1674 and 1675 a certain Lagrille hit upon the idea of giving opera performances in miniature, with the aid of marionettes, which were called *Lagrille's puppets*, or "the poor imitators of opera." In 1678 Allard and Maurice Vanderberg, together with a troupe of genuine Thespians, staged a play mingled with songs and dances, the "*Forces de l'amour et de la magie*." Lully obtained an ordinance from the king which prohibited their singing, and reduced their orchestra to four violins and an oboe. On the other hand the *Comédie-Française* saw to it that they were forbidden to perform comedies or farces. To get around the difficulty the actors of the fair thought of the expedient of presenting wordless pieces, whose pantomime, from time to time, was interrupted by songs, which were not sung by the comedians, but by the public. Large bill-boards were lowered at the places in question from the files of the theatre to the front of the stage, displaying the words of the text, and the name of some well-

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known air in large letters, the orchestra, at the same time, struck up the burden of the air, and the spectators, highly entertained, commenced to sing the song in chorus, fronting the actors, who made the necessary gestures. In 1716 *Catherine Vanderberg*, who held the theatre privilege at the Saint Lawrence fair, at last obtained permission to present pieces diversified by songs, dances, and symphonies, which soon became known as comic operas.

Until then comic opera had been nothing but comedy and farce mingled with couplets and songs. Music, all in all, occupied no more than a very negligible place in it. The entire merit of such pieces lay in the wit of the authors of the text, which was recited or sung, when these authors were named *Le Sage*, *Piron*, or *Panard*.

The music of the first comic operas consisted:

(1) Of celebrated *opera airs* in vogue, principally by Lully, to which new words had been adapted.

(2) Of *vaudevilles*, that is to say, of popular melodies, often very old, which were designated by *timbres* (the first stanza of the refrain or the first couplet of the original version), a vast repertory which sufficed for every need; it included songs tender and gay, sad and derisive, songs of every type and in every rhythm, in infinite number, awaiting a new orientation according to the choice of the author, who, writing the verses, already had in mind the air to which they would be sung.

(3) *New airs* to be danced or sung solo, or in chorus, and with which the performance usually came to an end.

The first musicians who wrote for the fairs were **Jean-Claude Gilliers** (1667-1737) and **Jean-Joseph Mouret** (1682-1738).

Jean-Claude Gilliers at first, from 1690 to 1715, had been one of the composers officially attached to the *Comédie-Française*; there he wrote music for *Regnard's* and *Dancourt's* plays, and thus we see that since Molière the tradition of these spectacles, in which music was merged with the inventions of the genius of comedy, had been preserved. At times the performances at the *Comédie-Française* differed from those at the fairs neither as regards the means used, the tone, the general make-up, nor the style of the works offered the public.

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In 1715 Gilliers passed over to the *Opéra-Comique*, for which he worked until his death (1737). He had a gift for pleasing melodies.

Jean-Joseph Mouret entered the service of the *Comédie-Italienne* in 1718, and remained with it until his death, in 1738. The Italian Comedy in most cases performed pieces which, though they did not bear the name, resembled the "comic operas" of the fairs in every respect.

Mouret was surnamed "the musician of the Graces," and seems to have merited this eulogy of his contemporaries.

Yet the comic-opera genus was still of trifling importance from the musical point of view. In order that it might attain its complete development examples had to be brought from Italy for the instruction of the French composer.

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While French comic opera was born of the popular stage at the fairs, the Italian buffa opera (*opera buffa*), was the child of grand opera, of serious opera (*opera seria*).

The first Italian operas were musical tragedies which sometimes included comic portions, and it was these comic parts which, isolated and developed, became the buffa opera. They served at first as *interludes* (*intermezzi*) between the acts of the serious opera, then began an altogether independent existence.

We have pointed out that the first origins of the buffa opera lay in certain attempts made on the stage by the Barberinis, in Rome, about 1637.

From 1657 to 1662, under the protection of the Cardinal Gio-Carlo de Medicis, a theatre was founded in Florence, the *Teatro della via della Pergola*. In it the musical comedy at once assumed great importance. The most noteworthy piece played there, "*La Tancia ovvero il Podestà di Colognole*" (1657), is a sort of drama at once urban and bucolic, written in the Tuscan dialect by Jacopo Melani. In it we encounter fine airs with a very noble, melodic line, like those in serious opera, as well as pages very gay and popular in style. Each act ended with a concerted number.

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On the death of the cardinal, in 1662, the theatre was closed. *Naples* was the city destined to be the dramatic heir of Florence. **Stradella** (1645-1682) and **Francesco Provenzale** (1610-1701) were the initiators of the new form, which was feeling its way. Little by little, thanks to **Alessandro Scarlatti** (1659-1725) and his pupils, **Francesco Durante** (1684-1755) and **Leonardo Vinci**, the Italian buffa opera assumed definite shape. Its fortune was made, and **Pergolesi** (1710-1736) succeeded brilliantly in it with his famous “*Serva padrone*” (1733).

In *Venice* as in *Naples* the genus was soon cultivated with success, notably by **Baldassarre Galuppi** (1706-1784).

The buffa opera comprised an overture, often quite short, numerous arias sufficiently varied in form (*aria cantabile*, *aria parlante*, *aria col violino*, *aria di mezzo caratters*, *aria di bravura*), and lighter recitatives, more fluid, more closely approaching spoken language than the recitative of the serious opera; yet in no case did the Italian buffa opera permit of plain “speech,” as did the French comic opera. The musical continuity of an opera seemed an indispensable condition of enjoyment to the Italians. They were shocked when they came to France (as were, incidentally, all strangers) to discover that the continual transition from the spoken to the sung word, and *vice versa*, to which the French so easily resigned themselves, was tolerated for a moment.

The subjects of these buffa operas were realistic, borrowed from town or peasant life. The plots, as a rule, were not at all complicated. The action was divided among two or three characters. The “*Serva padrone*” was written for a male singer, a female singer, and a “silent” character.

The music of the buffa operas was not always original: parody in the proper sense of the word, which consists of setting new words to a melody already known, was largely used. Often, even, a buffa opera from beginning to end was nothing more than a *pasticcio*, a series of pieces whose music was altogether borrowed from earlier works by various composers. (*Pasticcio* means, actually, a pastry, a meat-pie in which all kinds of meat are mingled.) We should not forget that the idea of artistic property rights, and regard for the personal invention of mo-

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tives, did not appear until the nineteenth century, or at any rate, it did not until then seem very important either to the public or to the artist.

The music of the Italian buffa operas possessed undeniable qualities: it had movement, life, color, and variety. It was eminently "scenic," it underlined the play of feature, gestures, poses, and various movements of the characters, supported the comic inflections of the voice, and amused with a thousand pleasant imitative details, grotesque or poetic, in song or in the orchestra (the heart-beats of a poltroon, the trembling of his legs, the noise of hammer on smithy forge, the murmurs of the spring, the twittering of birds, etc., etc.).

From the time when it made its way into France it was destined to exert a decided influence upon French comic opera, until then rather narrowly held down by the vaudeville tradition.

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On October 4, 1746, Pergolesi's "*Serva padrone*" was performed in Paris, at the *Comédie-Italienne*. The new piece was given without even creating a ripple. Yet when it was revived, August, 1752, at the *Opéra*, by Bambini's Italian troupe, it won an enthusiastic success, and Italian buffa operas, played by the same company during the months which ensued, were received with the same eagerness by the public.

It was then that the famous quarrel, known as *the war of the buffons*, began.

The partisans of French music and those of Italian music entered into conflict with an unheard-of ardor. Each performance was a battle: Louis XV and Madame de Pompadour supported Lully and Rameau, while the queen took the part of the Italians. The French partisans massed near the royal box, the Italian ones near the queen's box, and there was a continual exchange of epigrams, jests, and at times insults, between the "king's corner" and the "queen's corner." All the literary men of the day took part in the dispute. *Grimm*, *Diderot*, *d'Holbach*, *J.-J. Rousseau* supported the Italians; *J.-Ph. Rameau*, *Fréron*, the *Abbé Laugier*, the French. The most important event in this discussion was the *Lettre sur la musique*

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française, by J.-J. Rousseau; it unchained the fury of the “symphonists” of the *Opéra*, who burned its author in effigy.

“I think our language,” said Rousseau, “little suited to poesy and not at all to music. . . . On the other hand, the French tongue seems to me to be that of the sage and the philosopher.” Instead of the melody possible in their tongue, the French have invented a “complicated scientific music,” which seeks to make a “noise.” They think only of ponderous counterpoint, clumsy polyphony, and, “without any ceremony, they let the barytone voices sing in unison with the continuous bass.” However, though they write concerted numbers too compact, in too many parts, their harmony is none the less poor and flat: for the most pathetic moments of his “*Armide*” Lully does not find a single expressive modulation, and it is with *perfect cadences* that he assumes to translate the most violent movements of passion.

Rousseau also reproaches the French with changing the time from minute to minute, with having no rhythmic precision, a consequence, in fact, of their recitative system.

As to shadings, Rousseau further declares the French know only the soft and the loud. “The other words, *rinforzando*, *dolce*, *risoluto*, *con gusto*, *spiritoso*, *sostenuto*, *con brio*, have not even synonyms in French, and the word *expression* does not mean anything.”

“The inversions of the Italian language are far more favorable to good melody than the didactic order of our own, and a musical phrase develops in a more agreeable and more interesting way when the meaning of the discourse, long-suspended, resolves upon the verb together with the cadence, than when it develops gradually, and thus attenuates, or only by degrees satisfies the desire of the mind, while that of the ear augments in inverse ratio till the end of the phrase is reached.”

And he also complains that the French singers only know how to scream at the top of their lungs.

On the contrary, “the sweetness of the Italian tongue” facilitates melody. The Italians, besides, have “a boldness of modulation which adds living energy to expression.” Extreme precision of time makes itself felt in their slowest movements, and

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owing to the variety of rhythms their music expresses characteristics "of which we have not even an idea." All, with them, is sacrificed to melody. They use no vain science. It is good enough for the French, is "this precise, methodic music, lacking genius and invention, known in Paris above all as *written music*, and which at the most is only worth writing and never of execution."

In conclusion Rousseau does not limit himself to drawing an indictment of the French school; he exactly indicates the road to be followed in order to institute a truly national opera by making musical explanation conform to the nature of the language: "It is evident that the best recitative, in any language, provided the necessary conditions exist, is that approaching most closely to speech; if a recitative could thus approximate it, preserving its proper harmony so as to deceive the ear and mind, one might boldly claim that the one in question had reached the acme of perfection to which recitative might attain. In view of the rule thus established, let us examine what we call recitative in France, and tell me, if you please, what relation there is between this recitative and our declamation. How is it possible to imagine that the French language, whose accent is so unified, so simple, so moderate, so little akin to song, will be well expressed by the noisy and squalling intonations of this recitative; and that there is any connection between the soft inflections of speech and these sustained and inflated sounds or, rather, these eternal cries, of which the substance of our music is made up to an even greater extent than of airs? It is absolutely evident that the recitative best adapted to the French language must be opposed in nearly every particular to that which is in use; *that it must move between very small intervals, without raising or lowering of the voice to any great extent; with few sustained sounds, and never with outbursts, nor, even less, cries; above all, with nothing resembling song; and it should show but little inequality in the duration or value of notes or in their pitch.* In a word, the true French recitative, if we are to have one, will find itself only by following a route directly contrary to that of Lully and his successors, by taking some new path which surely the French composers, so proud

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of their vain knowledge, and consequently so far removed from a feeling of love for the true, will not soon be tempted to seek, and which, probably, they will never find.” It seems strange to see Rousseau predict with such exactness more than a hundred years in advance, the reform which Claude Debussy introduced into French musical declamation.

This *Lettre sur la musique française*, side by side with undeniable exaggerations, contains a host of apposite remarks on the difference between French and Italian opera. But J.-J. Rousseau passed over in silence the defects of Italian art, the too exclusively voluptuous, often soulless, character of a virtuosio art uniquely devoted to its effect upon the senses.

In any case it is certain that the French had much to learn from the Italians with respect to freedom and flexibility, and especially regarding variety in movement and in harmonization.

Following the success of the “*Serva padrone*,” the French partisans attempted to make a great time over a new score by **Mondonville**, “*Titon et l’Aurore*,” which was represented in Madame de Pompadour’s own theatre; but this mediocre work could not for a moment stand comparison with Pergolesi’s little comedy. It was then that J.-J. Rousseau himself entered the lists as a composer and determined to show what he could do imitating the Italians. He wrote a *pastorale*, the “*Devin du village*,” which was performed at the *Académie de musique* that same year (1752), and received with great favor.

J.-J. Rousseau wished to imitate the Italians. Yet, despite all, he did not depart much from French traditions; even in his music there is a certain stiffness in the cut of the airs, and in the rhythms, often borrowed from the dance, and a noble and somewhat mannered grace is concealed beneath an appearance of naïveté and rusticity; the expression remains somewhat dry, albeit poetic. One feels, too, especially in the harmony, the awkwardness of a man whose musical education was of a very rudimentary sort. Gluck showed himself decidedly indulgent when later he remarked to his pupil Salieri: “My friend, we should have written differently, and we would have made a mistake!”

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It was beginning with the year 1752 that the *Opéra-Comique* became definitely established, and enjoyed a long period of prosperity, first under the management of **Jean Monnet**, who secured the cooperation of the painter, **Fr. Boucher**, the ballet master **Noverre**, the poets **Favart** and **Vadé**, and the musician **Dauvergne**.

The success of the *Opéra-Comique* increased, especially after the year 1762, when it combined with the *Comédie-Italienne* (founded in 1719), which had so often welcomed the comedy interspersed with music.

Under the influence of the Italian buffa opera, the comic opera, little by little, renounced the vaudevilles, accepting only the "new airs," and attaching more importance to the development of the solos, the duos, and concerted numbers. It became more musical and more diversified owing to the attention paid expression and description. It assigned a lesser place to the purely fantastic products of mythologic or fairy invention, which had so long been the fashion, and chose its subjects by preference among the familiar realities of *bourgeois*, workmen, or peasant life. Yet it maintained "speech" side by side with music, and after several vain tentatives, did not adopt the system of continuous music and recitatives substituted for the "spoken dialogue," which some composers had endeavored to introduce into France in imitation of the Italians.

The comic opera "*Les Troqueurs*," by **Vadé** and **Dauvergne** (1753), already marks a certain progress in the sense which we have just mentioned.

We might note that in this score the recitative was used in the Italian manner. But the *Opéra* finally was aroused by the lasting success obtained by "*Les Troqueurs*," and fearing a disastrous competition, beginning with 1766, saw to it that the *Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique* was forbidden to perform pieces "of uninterrupted music, such as '*Les Troqueurs*,' or of a like sort." One of the most characteristic peculiarities of the French *Opéra-Comique* was thus definitely fixed. "Dialogue" regained all its rights, and was the only thing allowed, to the exclusion of the recitative.

The principal composers who wrote after 1752 for the *Opéra-*

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Comique were: **La Borde**, composer of *Gilles, garçon peintre z'amoureux-t-et rival* (1758); **Gaviniès**, one of the celebrated violinists of the eighteenth century, whose romance borrowed from the third act of his “*Prétendu*” (1760), enjoyed a considerable vogue; **La Ruette** (1731-1792), singer and composer, a tenor without a voice, who specialized in the rôles of bailiffs, fathers, and tutors, and whose “*Cendrillon*” (1759), in particular, had some attractive pages; **Blaise**, who composed or adapted the music to Favart and Madame Favart's charming bucolic “*Annette et Lubin*” (1762), a comic opera in which we still find an intermixture of vaudevilles, parodies of opera airs, and “new airs”; the Neapolitan **Duni** (1709-1775), who after having acquired a brilliant reputation in Italy, notably at the court of Parma, altogether French at that time, established himself in Paris, in 1757, made his début with “*Le Peintre amoureux de son modèle*” (1757), and scored his greatest success with his “*les Deux Chasseurs et la Laitière*” (1736); **Monsigny** (1729-1817), composer of “*Rose et Colas*” (1764), and of the “*Déserteur*” (1769), very superior to all his predecessors in his spontaneity, freshness, and ingenuity of invention, and, one might also say, by his intensity of emotion when the latter was demanded. Despite the simplicity and even poverty of the means he employed, despite the insufficiency of too abbreviated a knowledge of musical science, Monsigny remains one of the fair names in French music. He struck a new note; he announced from afar that transformation of the comic opera into *quasi*-lyric drama, which did not end till the second half of the nineteenth century. Nor should we forget that Sedaine, one of the inventors of the “tearful comedy,” was Monsigny's official collaborator, beginning with 1761.

Philidor, together with Monsigny, is the composer of the first masterworks of French comic opera. Born in Dreux, in 1726, and dying in 1795, he belonged to an old musical family, the Danican; it was Louis XIII or Louis XIV who had given one of his ancestors the surname of Philidor. François-André-Danican Philidor cultivated music in his youth, but later turned his attention principally to chess, and became the first chess-player in the world. When only thirty-three he began to write

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for the *Opéra-Comique*, where he triumphed for ten years. Beginning with 1770 we lose track of him, and not until 1773 do we once more discover him in Paris. Thenceforward, however, he composes far less. His most noteworthy works are: "*Blaise le Savetier*" (1759), the "*Jardinier et son Seigneur*" (1761), the "*Maréchal Ferrant*" (1761), and "*Tom Jones*" (1765), which last includes a well-turned quartet and septet. Philidor's harmony is richer than that of Monsigny, his pieces are better developed; he uses the resources of the orchestra with skill. He already reflects the influence of the first German symphonists. His inspiration gains value by reason of its firmness and breadth of melodic design, its rhythmic energy, and also by its ingenuity, the color in its descriptive effects.

Finally we have the theoretician of the school: **Grétry** (1741-1813), the author of *Mémoires ou Essai sur la musique* (three volumes, printed in 1797 by order of the Committee for Public Instruction). This is a rambling work, yet full of ideas, very spontaneous and very witty. "You are a musician and intelligent!" Voltaire remarked to him, somewhat ironically. In his *Mémoires* Grétry, as he tells the tale of his life, exposes his theories. He was born in Liège. He fell in love at the age of six. A troupe which was playing Pergolesi gave him a taste for music, and he learned to sing in the Italian manner, succeeding admirably. When eighteen he went to Italy, his head filled with music. He wrote before he had made any serious studies in harmony or counterpoint (he never did undertake them, and it has been said of his music that "one could drive a coach and four between the bass and the first violin parts," so carelessly was it framed). He returned to Paris, where Rameau bored him, though the *Théâtre Français* and the great actors of the day roused his enthusiasm: "Their declamation seemed the only guide suitable for me, the only one which might lead me to the goal I had set myself." He cultivated Mlle. Clairon and noted "her intonations, her intervals, and her accents" in music. Diderot engaged him to persevere in this path. Grétry, in fact, takes up once more the Lullian principles, and directly prepares the advent of Gluck. He wrote "*Le Huron*" (1768), "*Lucile*" (1769), with its famous quartet ("*Où peut-on être mieux qu'au sein de sa*

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famille?”)*, the “*Tableau parlant*” (1769), the “*Fausse magie*” (1775), and “*Richard Cœur de Lion*” (1784). He ended his life loaded with distinctions of every kind: he was received at the Institute and was one of the first chevaliers of the Legion of Honor. He died in J.-J. Rousseau’s “Hermitage,” which he had purchased.

His ideas with regard to the art of music, at times a little confused, are extremely abundant; he has interesting opinions on the programmatic overture, on the entr’acte serving as commentary upon a psychological situation, on the painting of passions and characters by means of sounds, and on the materials and the proceeds whose exact analysis this supposes.

He dreamed of a musical tragedy with spoken dialogue, a hidden orchestra; of a people’s stage, of national plays. He wished to make song a subject of primary instruction.

He even looked beyond his own purely French art, beyond his own French borders; he sincerely admired Haydn. It is true that he was astonished by the unobjective and unfree developments in absolute music; he desired the liberation of the symphony and defined in advance the symphonic poem.

Toward the end of his life he was somewhat intimidated by certain innovations, and it was then that he exclaimed: “What will come after us? In my mind’s eye I see a charming being, gifted with a natural instinct for melody, with her mind and especially her soul filled with musical ideas, fearing to break those dramatic rules which to-day are known to all musicians, who will add to the finest natural gifts a portion of the harmonic riches which are the property of our young musical athletes. With even greater certainty than the child of Abraham sighing for the advent of his regenerating Messiah, I stretch out my arms toward this desired being, whose accents, as genuine as they are vigorous, will cheer my declining years!”

* TRANS. NOTE.—Two of Grétry’s opera airs are associated respectively with Louis XVI and Napoleon. “*O Richard, o mon roi, l’univers t’abandonne,*” from “*Richard Cœur de Lion*,” was sung with enthusiasm at the banquet the king and Marie-Antoinette gave the *gardes-du-corps* at Versailles, shortly before the mob dragged them to Paris; and “*Où peut-on être mieux qu’au sein de sa famille?*” played by a band of the Old Guard, served to rally the veterans around the emperor’s person during a Cossack attack on the retreat from Russia.

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"This musical Messiah," says Romain Rolland, "is known to us; Grétry, who called upon his name did not know that he had come. Yet he lived and he died not far from him. It was Mozart, whose name does not appear once in Grétry's '*Essais*.'" And does not the eighteenth-century French comic opera also presage Mozart? In it, at times, we already find his grace, his naïveté, his ease, his spontaneity; yet miss his perfection and his great depth.

Grétry's art, at times somewhat attenuate, somewhat bare from a strictly musical point of view, still moves us to-day by reason of the fine and penetrant sensibility it reveals, by the poetic gifts it manifests, those of a poet already well-nigh romantic on occasion.

Under the influence of the ideas of the time, comic opera, toward the end of the eighteenth century, was evolving very rapidly. It took on a more serious character, opened up an increasingly large place for the moving situation, the moral exhortation, and the virtuous emotion. The comedy played a more restricted part in it, and sometimes tended to sentimentality.

Popular gaiety once more was gratified by the renascence of the vaudeville piece in 1780, of what thenceforth was known as the comedy-vaudeville, to distinguish it from the comic opera.

Nevertheless the reign of Gluck had begun, and many Italian composers established in Paris, despairing of seeing the doors of the *Académie de musique* opened to them, turned to the *Opéra-Comique*. Such were **Bianchi**, **Prati**, **Bruni**, and many others. Among the comic-opera composers of the end of the eighteenth century they are not necessarily the best. We should mention, in particular, a German, born in Freistadt, in the Palatinate, *Schwartzendorf*, called **Martini**, who presented his "*Droit de Seigneur*" in 1783, "*Annette et Lubin*" in 1800, and whose romance, "*Plaisir d'amour*," to Florian's words, has remained popular; and a Frenchman, **Dalyrac** (1753-1809), who wrote sixty-one dramatic works in twenty-eight years, among them "*Adolphe et Clara*" (1799), "*Maison à vendre*" (1800), and above all "*Nina ou la Folle par amour*" (1786).

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The success of comic opera in France, beginning with the second half of the eighteenth century, exerted a great influence on operatic style. It accustomed the public to very easy, very simple music, popularly written, and turned it away from the works of Lully and Rameau, which thenceforth appeared decidedly solemn and complicated. In this sense it might be said that comic opera prepared the way for Gluck, whose reform, in part, consisted in simplifying and popularizing the musical tragedy. Yet, from another point of view, comic opera perhaps had done French music a disservice. By reducing the rôle of music in the drama to a minimum, by employing almost exclusively a rudimentary technic, by often arbitrarily excluding real depth in the expression of sentiment, of the emotions, it was bound to detach the public and the composers from all that was truly grand in art; to spread a superficial liking for the merely pretty; to contribute, toward 1830, to assure the triumph of Italian music in France, and retard for some forty years a return to French national traditions and an art which was sincere.

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CHAPTER X

FROM GLUCK TO MÉHUL

Christoph Willibald Gluck was born in Weidenwang, near Neumarkt, in the Upper Palatinate, not far from the Bohemian frontier, on July 2, 1714. He was the son of a game-keeper to Prince Lobkowitz. His boyhood was a hard one: he travelled through the woods in winter barefoot, amid rain, snow, and ice. This somewhat savage existence did not, however, affect his hardy constitution. He studied music as a choir-boy in the Jesuit school, at Komotau, where he took lessons in singing, clavier, organ, and violin. He first gained a living in Prague as a wandering fiddler and singer, and then, under the guidance of the Bohemian musician, Czernohorsky, became an excellent 'cellist. In 1736 he went to Vienna, and it was there, at a *soirée* given by Prince Lobkowitz, that he attracted the attention of the Lombard prince, Melzi, who took him to Milan, where for four years he studied with *Sammartini*, one of Haydn's precursors in the symphony and string quartet. After this, in April, 1741, he made his *début* as an opera composer, with an outstanding success, "*Artaserse*." This first work was followed by many others, of which none have come down to us, since it was not customary to have opera scores engraved in Italy; operas were used up too quickly to justify taking the trouble.

We must try to form an idea of how the Italian opera now had developed. The male soprano singer was its tyrant, and constrained composers and managers to obey his most fantastic whims. He insisted that the rôles always be "sympathetic"; he left it to the tenor to sing the parts of noble fathers, the despots, and the traitors (as to the bass, he was relegated to the *buffa* opera), while he deigned only to assume the rôle of the hero-lover. And who could foretell his whims? He simply *must* make a first entrance on horseback, or descending from

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a lofty mountain; at times he declared it would be impossible for him to sing a note unless he wore a head-dress of plumes; at others he refused to die at the end of a piece, and invariably his strange manias were accepted as law. He corrected the librettist, he corrected the composer, and both accepted his corrections. Beauty of song, at that time, was the only thing which mattered. The dramatic verities did not enter into the question for a moment. The prima donna, making her stage entrance, was invariably followed by her little page, who never let go the hem of her robe, even during the most tragic moments. The male soprano, once he had finished his air, remained on the stage, eating oranges or drinking Spanish wine, without listening to the dialogue of his colleagues, and without apparent knowledge that the performance was still going on. As to the public, it played cards or ate ices in the boxes, paying no attention to the stage unless some favorite air or some singer who was the fashion led people to turn their heads. One can imagine the kind of music which would suit such artists and such an audience.

Gluck, already celebrated, was called to London in 1745. He went over Paris, where he heard Rameau's works, and arrived in England at the time when Handel was celebrating his triumph. There he had his "*Caduta dei Giganti*" and "*Artamene*" (1746) performed, two operas in which he placed the best airs contained in preceding works, adapted to new words. This was a very common practice, and no Italian composer in his various works failed to reproduce indefinitely and apply to a thousand new purposes those numbers which had already won the public's applause. Yet the mediocre success which was Gluck's portion may have led him to take serious thought; he must have told himself that the same music does not apply indifferently to all situations. However, if he recognized the frivolous character of Italian art, he nevertheless continued to cultivate it for a long time to come.

He left London, and in Vienna, in 1748, produced his "*Semiramide riconosciuta*." Thenceforward his time was divided between Italy and Austria. He had a multitude of operas performed on various stages, and with the greatest success:

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"*Ezio*" (1750), "*La Clemenza di Tito*" (1751), "*L'Eroe cinese*" (1755), and "*Il Trionfo di Camillo*" (1755), "*La Danza*" (1755), "*Antigono*" (1756), "*Il Re pastore*" (1756), and "*Don Juan*," a ballet (1761). He also wrote little comic operas to French texts by Lesage, Favart, Vade, and Dancourt, which had already been set in Paris by other musicians, for the Austrian court. Such are: "*l'Isle de Merlin*" (1758), "*la Fausse esclave*" (1758), "*l'Arbre enchanté*" (1759), "*Cythère assiégé*" (1759), "*l'Ivrogne corrigé*" (1760), "*le Cadi dupé*" (1761), and "*la Rencontre imprévue*" or "*les Pèlerins de la Mecque*" (1764).

Gluck was already attempting this "French style," whose best elements he was to employ at a later date, when he wrote his great musical tragedies.

On September 15, 1750, Gluck had married Marianne Pergin, whom he had long loved, but whose father's death he had been obliged to await, since the latter was opposed to the union.

Beginning with 1754 Gluck was attached to the Vienna Opera as *Kapellmeister*, with a salary of 2,000 ducats, under the direction of Count Durazzo, who was the intendant-general of the Court Theatre. (That same year the pope conferred on Gluck the title of a knight of the Golden Spur.) This was the same Durazzo who had applied to Favart for comic-opera librettos which Gluck might set to music. Did Durazzo or Gluck take the initiative in this matter? Was Gluck already preparing for his journey to France?

If we may believe Gluck, the accomplishment of his destiny was due to his meeting with a genius, who gave him the idea for an opera of an altogether novel kind. This man was **Raniero da Calsabigi**, born in Leghorn, 1714, and who died in Naples, in 1795. He had lived in Paris, and edited the poems of *Metastasio*, the one and only furnisher of librettos to the Italian composers, and notably to Gluck. Metastasio had qualities: flexibility, elegance, charm, skill in the disposition of dramatic situations; but he lacked force, passion, grandeur; his rhetoric was too flowery, and he often degenerated into affectation and mawkishness.

Calsabigi came to Vienna in 1761, made Gluck's acquaintance, and "*Orfeo ed Euridice*," performed on October 5, 1762,

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was soon born of their collaboration. Gluck at the time was forty-eight years of age. The rôle of *Orfeo* was intrusted to one of the most remarkable male sopranos of the day, Guadagni, who was willing scrupulously to respect the master's thought, and sing this simple music just as it was written. Incidentally, Gluck and Calsabigi had overwhelmed the orchestra and singers with rehearsals. The public was at first surprised, for it was quite conscious that it was a question of a revolution on the musical stage. The dramatic effect came before all else; music was no more than a means, not an end; there were no longer any *fioriture*, nothing to exercise the singer's virtuosity.

All the merit of this reform was due to Calsabigi; at any rate this is what he himself wrote anent the matter, many years later: "I am no musician, yet I have long studied declamation. It is acknowledged that I have a talent for reciting verses well, especially tragic poems and, above all others, my own. Twenty-five years ago I thought that the only music suitable for dramatic poesy, above all for dialogue, and for those airs which we call airs *with action*, was that which would most closely approximate *natural declamation*, animated and energetic; that declamation itself was no more than a kind of imperfect music; that it might be set down in notes as it exists had we been able to find a sufficient number of signs to express so many tones, so many inflections, so many stresses and softenings, the shadings, infinitely varied, so to speak, which the voice assumes when declaiming. . . . I arrived in Vienna in 1761 filled with these ideas. One year later, His Excellency Count Durazzo, then director of the spectacles of the Imperial Court, and to-day ambassador to Venice, to whom I had recited my '*Orfeo*,' induced me to give it to the stage. I consented, *on condition that its music would be written according to my wish*. He sent Signor Gluck to me who, so he said, would oblige me in all respects. . . . I read my '*Orfeo*' to him, and recited several fragments, again and again, pointing out to him the shadings, the *nuances* I wished to put into my declamation, the suspensions, the tempos, the sounds of the voice, at times full, at others enfeebled and negligible, which I desired him to employ in his composition. At the same time I begged

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him to dispense with the *passaggi*, the *cadenze*, the *ritornelli*, and whatever of the Gothic, the barbarous, and the extravagant had been introduced into our music. Signor Gluck entered into my views."

Besides, Gluck himself wrote in 1773:

"... I should reproach myself still more, were I to allow the invention of the new kind of Italian opera, whose success has justified the experiment, to be attributed to me. It is to M. Calsabigi that the credit is mainly due." Is Gluck, therefore, *not* the inventor of his dramatic system; is he merely the well-informed, intelligent artist who has skilfully exploited another's ideas? We must remember that these so-called "new" ideas are none other than the principles already advanced and developed by the Florentines, later taken up again by Lully, Rameau, and Grétry. Gluck certainly cannot be credited with their discovery, nor yet Calsabigi. Gluck merely attempted and admirably succeeded in applying them in a novel way.

Nevertheless Gluck once more turned to the Italian method by composing "*Il Trionfo di Clelia*" (1763), and "*Telemacco*" (1765).

But he dreamed of becoming known in Paris; he was convinced that this new manner would please the French, in particular. Count Durazzo saw to it that the score of "*Orfeo*," which by the way did not sell, was engraved in Paris. Gluck himself made a trip to France in 1764.

On December 16, 1766, a second work, "*Alceste*," an outcome of the collaboration of Calsabigi and Gluck, was performed in Vienna. This time it seemed as though the authors wished to challenge the public's good graces. They had chosen a very true, a very pathetic subject; yet one devoid of progressive interest, of intrigue; from beginning to the end of the piece there was but the one situation and the identical sentiment. This second opera was much discussed. One of Gluck's partisans said: "I am in a wonderland: a serious opera without a male soprano (*castrato*), music without solfeggio exercises, or rather without 'garglings,' an Italian poem without bombast and witticisms, such is the triple prodigy with which the Court Theatre opens!"

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When "*Alceste*" was engraved in 1769 Gluck prefaced it by a *Dedicatory Epistle to the Grand-Duke of Tuscany*, a veritable manifesto, in which he exposes and justifies his conception of the musical drama.

During the same year he saw performed, with less success, his "*Paride ed Elena*"; this third score, also set to a libretto by Calsabigi, contained many beauties. It was issued with a *Dedicatory Epistle to the Duke of Braganza*, which is a second manifesto.

More and more Gluck was tormented with the desire to triumph in Paris. During five years he stopped composing for Vienna and prepared himself for this new struggle. The Bailli du Roullet, *attaché* of the French embassy in Vienna, had written the libretto of an "*Iphigénie en Aulide*" for him, a close imitation of Racine. He also undertook to recommend Gluck to Dauvergne, the director of the *Académie de musique*: "That great man," so he wrote him, "is convinced that the Italians have departed from the right path in their theatrical compositions; that the French genus is the true musical dramatic genus; that, if hitherto it has not attained its perfection it is less the fault of the really estimable French composers, and that the authors of the poems would have to be held accountable. These authors, unaware of the scope of musical art, preferred wit to sentiment, gallantry to passion, and sweetness and color in versification to pathos in style and situation." This was a third manifesto. Dauvergne, no doubt, knew Gluck's merit as a musician; foreseeing, on the other hand, the excellent effect of this declaration of principle on the French public, he lost no time in having the letter of the Bailli du Roullet printed in the *Mercure de France*.

Under the plea of protesting against certain exaggerated compliments which had been paid him, Gluck in turn published a very adroit and even timely letter (February, 1773): "Though I have never been in the position to offer my works to any stage, I cannot bear the author of the letter to one of the directors any ill will for having suggested my '*Iphigénie*' for your *Académie de musique*. I will admit that I should have been pleased to have had produced it in Paris because, by its effect and with

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the aid of the famous M. Rousseau, of Geneva, whom I had hoped to consult, together, perhaps, we might have been able, while seeking a melody noble, *touching*, and natural, with declamation in exact accord with the prosody of each language and the character of each people, to have fixed the means which I have considered of producing a *music suited to every nation, and to cause the ridiculous distinction between national kinds of music to disappear.*" (Gluck presented himself as the conciliant of the Italians and the French, and made his submission in advance to the great critic Rousseau, an extraordinarily skilful move.) "Those works of this great man which deal with music prove the sublimity of his knowledge and the sureness of his taste, and have filled me with admiration. They have left in me the intimate conviction that had he wished to apply himself to the exercise of the art, he could have realized those prodigious effects which antiquity attributed to music. I am delighted to have this opportunity of publicly paying him that tribute of praise which I believe he merits."

The first act of "*Iphigénie*" was sent to Dauvergne. He replied: "If the Chevalier Gluck will engage to furnish six scores of this kind to the *Académie de musique*, nothing could be better; otherwise it will not be performed, for such a work will kill all the old French operas." The comment was judicious; yet at the same time it was a means of endlessly drawing out the negotiations. It then occurred to Gluck to address himself to Marie-Antoinette, his former pupil, and ask her protection. She called Gluck to Paris, and soon after rehearsals of "*Iphigénie*" were begun.

Gluck had to struggle valiantly in order to secure a performance of his work conformable to his views. He had to battle with all sorts of ridiculous traditions and inveterate bad habits. Thus, the singers and dancers did not hesitate, in the course of a performance, to show themselves half dressed at the back of the stage in order to see what was going on in the house, or to hear one of their colleagues sing; the choruses (which had been concealed up to 1766) defiled, the men on one side, the women on the other, in order of seniority when they came on the stage; the men with their arms crossed and the

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women toying with their fans, stood motionless until the end of the act. The orchestral musicians wore winter gloves; they tuned noisily while the music was being played; each of them left his place whenever he saw fit, and time was kept only owing to great blows of the baton, with which the "wood-chopper," as Rousseau calls him, made the floor of the stage resound. Gluck imposed his will on all.

At the last moment the leading singer became indisposed. Gluck insisted that the performance be adjourned. Inconceivable! The dauphiness, the princesses, the royal family had promised their attendance! It was in the highest degree unfitting to beg them to wait a few days. Yet nothing stopped Gluck; he had his way, and "*Iphigénie*" was not performed until the singer was well again (April 19, 1774).

There was a line at the theatre doors at eleven o'clock in the morning. The entire court appeared at five, with the exception of King Louis and Madame du Barry. The overture was encored, but the rest of the score was coldly received despite the applause of Marie-Antoinette. After a second performance the success was considerable.

"*Orfeo*" was then repeated in a French translation and re-adaptation; the rôle of *Orfeo* on this occasion being written for tenor. The rehearsals already took on the character of events, and the house was invaded by great lords, who crowded around Gluck, conducting the orchestra in a nightcap, rushed to offer him his surcoat or perhaps his peruke at the end of each *séance*. On August 2, 1774, the first performance took place. The work was acclaimed to the skies. J.-J. Rousseau enthusiastically cried: "When one can enjoy so great a pleasure for two hours, then I can conceive of life's being worth living!" Later he was to quarrel with Gluck, for what reason is not known.

Gluck was at the apogee of his glory. Marie-Antoinette had a pension of 6,000 livres settled upon him besides the 6,000 livres he received for each new score. Maria Theresia of Austria appointed him imperial court composer, with a salary of 2,000 ducats, and permission to go to Paris to produce his works.

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In 1776 "*Alceste*" appeared, translated into French, and modified according to Rousseau's indications. At first it was a failure. "It would be amusing," said Gluck, "were this piece to fall flat! . . . '*Alceste*' is not meant merely to please our own day, and because of its novelty it is a timeless work; I may say that it will please equally well two hundred years from now, if the French language does not change, and I say so because I have built its foundations only on nature, which is never subject to fashion."

While this was taking place, Gluck's niece, whom he loved like an own daughter, and who sang quite charmingly, died in Vienna. It was a great blow for him. He set out for Austria, leaving his "*Alceste*" behind. During his absence Gossec was charged to work over the third act, for which he wrote a very mediocre air, that of "*Hercule*." Nevertheless, little by little, success crowned his work. Yet the discussion went on, the revival of "*Iphigénie*" furnishing new controversial food. *La Harpe* and *Marmontel* attacked Gluck furiously. For a long time they had endeavored to play off some musician come from Italy against him. They ended (in 1776) by deciding on Piccini, one of the most famous composers of the Neapolitan school, as best adapted to measure himself with the writer of "*Orfeo*."

* * *

Piccini (1728-1800), one of the most prolific opera composers who ever lived, had made a speciality of buffa pieces in Neapolitan dialect, and had written for Rome his "*Cecchina*" or "*La Buona figliuola*" ("The Good Girl"), which gave him a universal reputation. He was the last man in the world to supply a tool for Gluck's adversaries. In the first place, his music, though it had charm, lacked strength and power. And, besides, Piccini did not have a combative nature: small, lean, pale, always weary, very polished, very gentle, very amiable, yet impressionable to excess, he dreaded nothing so much as the emotions of combat.

He reached Paris on December 31, half dead with cold. He did not know a word of French. *Marmontel* was obliged to give him lessons, and to mark the accents and the rhythms of

the verses he was to set to music for him. At first he scored a tremendous success at the *Concerts des Amateurs*. The Gluckists took advantage of the fact to assert that his music was merely concert, and not dramatic music. Meanwhile (1777), appeared "*Armide*," which Gluck, as though to challenge public opinion, had written to the same book by Quinault, whose verses, set by Lully, were exalted in all the memoirs. After the astonishment called forth by the first performances, it had an immense success. The year following Piccini gave a "*Roland*," upon which he had been working since his arrival in Paris, and which was awaited with impatience by the public. On the day of the première Piccini no longer looked like a human being. His wife and son were sobbing, and he sobbed in unison with them. The new opera was very well received, but the war of the "corners" began again with unabated vigor. The idea was advanced of forcing a contest between the two champions by giving them the same subject, and the drama of "*Iphigénie en Tauride*" was chosen as the vehicle for this musical tourney. Gluck's "*Iphigénie en Tauride*" was performed in 1779, and he gained greatly by having his score presented first, an advantage he had taken care to secure. None of Gluck's works had hitherto awakened such enthusiasm. Unfortunately, in 1779, a serious setback, the failure of "*Echo et Narcisse*," had profoundly affected Gluck. He suffered a breakdown and retired to Vienna. In 1780 the *Académie de musique* gave Piccini's "*Atys*," favorably received; then, in 1781, his "*Iphigénie en Tauride*." The memory of Gluck's opera was destined to crush his rival's work. The first and second acts were listened to coldly; the third act won a success. An air of "*Pylades*," a trio, and some choruses attracted special attention. Yet at the second performance the second leading singer appeared on the stage, acting in a decidedly confused way, and began to commit a thousand blunders. She was intoxicated! "This is no '*Iphigenia in Taurus*!'" cried a wit, "this is '*Iphigenia in Champagne*!'" This marked the beginning of the end for the opera. The score, however, was taken up again, and the two "*Iphigénies*," that of Gluck and of Piccini, were given turn and turn until, in the end, Gluck's held the boards alone.

The duel between the two men was at an end. All that re-

mains for us is rapidly to narrate the rest of their life story. In 1783 Piccini scored a great success with his "*Didon*." Then a new dramatic rival, **Sacchini** (1734-1786), made his appearance, who, for all he was an Italian, often imitated Gluck, as had Piccini himself. Sacchini's "*Chimène*," however, did not cast "*Didon*" into the shade. For a moment Piccini seemed to have glory and even a fortune within his grasp. He was appointed director of the *École de chant*, which (very appropriately) had just been joined to the *Académie de musique*, for hitherto the opera singers had been recruited only from among Parisian and provincial choirs. A pupil of Gluck, **Salieri**, came to Paris with an opera, "*les Danaïdes*," which he presented as a work by his teacher, though in reality it was his own, and with it won an altogether unjustifiable success.

Nevertheless, Gluck no longer wrote for the dramatic stage. After he had left Paris, in 1779, he never pardoned the Parisians. His faculties, incidentally, were diminishing little by little. He had several severe attacks of illness, and died November 15, 1787. The following epitaph was inscribed on his tomb: "Here lies an honest German, a good Christian and a faithful husband, Christoph Willibald Ritter von Gluck, a master of the art of music, who died November 15, 1787."

Piccini had the merit of delivering the public eulogy on Gluck, and of demanding that his memory be celebrated every year by a concert of his works, a vow which was not fulfilled.

Poor Piccini! The Revolution came. He fell upon evil days, the beginning of a series of tribulations. He went from France to Naples, and there was suspected of liberalism; he then passed to Venice, returned to Naples, and once more took the road to Paris. The Directory accorded him a pension, but often it was not paid. Bonaparte had him appointed inspector of the Conservatoire; yet he had difficulty in laying hands on his salary. He died in the midst of his embarrassments on May 7, 1800, at Passy. He was a genuine musician, who sometimes makes us think of Mozart, but more especially of Rossini.

* * *

Let us here digress in order to present and appreciate Gluck's dramatic system, the system of which the war of the Gluckists

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and Piccinists was no more than the long, interminable discussion.

"When I undertook to set to music the opera '*Alceste*,'" declares Gluck in his *Dedicatory Epistle to the Grand Duke of Tuscany*, "it was my intention to avoid all the abuses which the misunderstood vanity of singers and the excessive complaisance of composers had introduced into Italian opera and which, from the most magnificent and beautiful of all spectacles, had turned it into the most tiresome and ridiculous. I sought to bring back music to her veritable function, that of seconding poetry, of strengthening the expression of the sentiments, and the interest of the situations, without interrupting the action or chilling sympathy with superfluous ornament. I believed that music should add to poetry that which a correct and well-planned design lends to vivacity of color and the happy agreement of lights and shadows, which serve to animate figures without changing their outlines.

"Hence I have taken care not to interrupt a singer in the midst of his dialogue to make him wait for a wearisome *ritornelle*, or to stop him in the middle of a speech on a favorable vowel, either to deploy the agility of his fine voice in an extended passage, or to wait for the orchestra to give him time to draw breath to make an organ-point.

"Nor have I thought necessary either to pass rapidly over the second part of an air, when this second part is the most impassioned and important, in order to repeat the words of the air regularly four times; nor end the air before the meaning is completed, to give the singer a chance to prove that he can vary a passage to suit his taste in several different ways.

"Finally, I wished to proscribe all these abuses which, for so long a time, good sense and good taste have in vain decried.

"It seems to me that the overture should inform the spectators in advance with regard to the character of the action about to unroll before their eyes, and to indicate to them its subject; that the instruments should be brought into play only in a manner proportionate in degree to the interests and passions involved; that above all it would be necessary in the dialogue, to avoid too sharp a discrepancy between the air and

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the recitative, in order not to destroy the meaning of the sentence, nor wilfully interrupt the movement and ardor of the scene out of season.

"I also thought that the greater part of my labor should be confined to seeking a beautiful simplicity, and I have avoided a display of difficulties at the expense of clarity; I have attached no importance to the discovery of a novelty, unless it were one naturally offered by the situation and bound up with the expression; finally, there was no rule which I did not think might be sacrificed with good grace for the benefit of the effect."

It is evident that Gluck followed the old French tradition in thus placing music at the service of poesy and the drama, and in denying that "absolute music" had a place on the stage. He wrote to this effect in his *Dedicatory Epistle to Paris et Hélène*: "The effect which this opera (*'Alceste'*) might produce upon the stage has been estimated in an apartment; it is with the same measure of sagacity that in one of the Grecian cities an attempt was made in former times to judge, at a distance of a few feet, the effect of statues intended to be placed on lofty columns."

Yet it should be noted how greatly Gluck, in some respects, opposes the traditions of Lully and Rameau, or, at any rate, how largely he renews them.

In the first place, he calls for music which is *simpler*, more *popular*. His melody had been rendered more pliant in the Italian school; he knows that the smallest intervals are the most melodious; he avoids the great strides of the old French song. His harmony is very clear and not very delicate; he ignores all of Rameau's researches. His rhythms are very clean-cut and very marked; he tries to harmonize a regard for *breadth* with the necessities of declamation.

Gluck, too, wishes the drama to be simple, like music. It is for this reason that he favors *antique subjects* and *tragedy*. Nor should it be forgotten that before Gluck the French opera had never been a genuine *lyric tragedy*. Beginning with Quinault, and after him in increasing measure, it had lost itself in romantic insipidities, in courtly elegancies, in vague, optimistic sentimentalities (purposely developed in order to justify the search

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for sensual pleasure) and spectacular pomp. It reflected a society cultivated to excess, already ripe for corruption.*

This was no painting of the necessary and universal elements in human nature, and the moving conflicts to which their encounters might give rise. Gluck once more gave tragedy its true definition. He chose antique subjects, because, owing to their remoteness, all individual circumstances were effaced, and only the general outlines of situations, the dominant traits of the characters, appeared. And, very fortunately, he had a marvellous feeling for Greek antiquity, for its pure and harmonious genius. Furthermore, Gluck suppressed the ballet *as far as at all possible* as an unnecessary *hors d'œuvres*, despite the clamors of *Vestris* and of the public. In "*Iphigénie en Tauride*" there is but a single ballet, and even that is closely connected with the action.

This simplicity of music and drama in Gluck's works quite naturally gives them a certain universality of character. And it is with reason that he flattered himself with "having produced music suited to every nation, and caused the ridiculous distinction between national kinds of music to disappear."

Finally, in Gluck's operas, the expression of the *emotions*, of the *passions*, plays a very important part, one which it had not played in those of Lully and Rameau, too narrowly cultivating correct declamation. With Gluck music becomes more than an intellectual pleasure, it not only addresses itself to the mind and to reason, but also to the heart; it touches. Gluck reproaches Quinault with having preferred "*wit to sentiment, gallantry to the passions*," with not having sought "the *pathetic* in style and situation." He pretends, with the aid of Rousseau,

* The moral point of view of the operas of Lully and Rameau might be summed up in the following four lines by Quinault:

"Rendez-vous, jeunes cœurs, cédez à vos desirs,
Tout vous inspire un tendre badinage.
Ne préférez jamais la sagesse aux plaisirs,
Il vaut bien mieux être heureux qu'être sage."

("Yield yourselves, youthful hearts, to your desires give way!
Let all rouse you to sport in tender guise.
Wisdom to pleasure ne'er prefer, for aye
'Tis better to be happy than be wise.")

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to have discovered a "noble, *touching* and natural" melody. He dreams of realizing "those prodigious effects which the ancients attributed to music." Close as Gluck still is to Lully and Rameau, profoundly as he was impenetrated by the influence of the classic French spirit, his art has other sources as well. He is Italian and he is German: he knows how to "sing"; he knows how to play; and, in drawing inspiration from the already romantic ideas of Rousseau, he prepares, at a great distance, and across Mozart and Beethoven, a very different future for the ideal of the French classicists.

Gluck possessed a dramatic system whose principles he has developed very clearly, and in great detail. Yet he did not always scrupulously adhere to it.

Thus, he did not hesitate, in his last operas, to use motives borrowed from earlier ones, without paying any further attention to the difference between the situations and the words.

On the other hand, after having declared that music should be the lowly handmaiden of poesy and the drama, he does not shrink from writing to Gaillard, the librettist of "*Iphigénie en Tauride*": "As to the words I want from you, I must have a ten-syllable line, and you must take care to put a long, sonorous syllable in the places I have indicated, so that your last lines will be sombre and solemn, if you wish to agree with my music."

If one desired to twit Gluck on the subject of the spontaneity of his declamation, one might ask him why he uses and abuses the *appogiature* in such wise as to destroy completely the metre of the stanza, and deform the word accents. For example, in "*Alceste*":

"Ah! malgré-moi-a mon faible cœur partage
Vos tendres *pleu-eurs*, vos regrets si touchants,
Et je sens *bien-in* en ces *crué-els instan-ants*
Que je j'ai *besoin-in*," etc.*

Is it spontaneous, too, to cause airs to be sung *with a repeat*,

* The following translation merely presents an approximation to the effect produced in the original:

"Ah, spite of *me-e*, my heart so weak must share
Your tender *tea-ars*, and your regrets that move.
And I know *we-ell*, in moments of *despai-aire*
That I have *ne-ed*," etc.

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in the Italian fashion? This monotonous and artificial habit spoils some of Gluck's most beautiful pages.

Yet when, on the contrary, Gluck does follow his system, does he not go too far in still another sense? "Before beginning an opera," he declares, "I make but one prayer, to forget that I am a musician!" He says, furthermore: "I have borrowed what little vital juice I had left to complete '*Armide*.' In it I have essayed to be a poet and painter rather than a musician." And when he was requested to add an air to this score: "Not another note! This opera already stinks of music!" Must not Gluck at times be reproached with being too little the musician? Without forgetting the drama, without writing music solely for the ear, is there no other means of expression than correct declamation? Are only the words of passion to be musically imitated, and not the movements of the heart, even when the latter are not expressed in words?

Gluck sought simplicity, yet by insisting on simplicity he is, at times, bare and dry. His melody lacks Italian abundance and Mozartean ease. Marmontel found his harmony "cragged and uneven," which may astonish us; yet, after all, we must remember that the successions of consonant harmonies, which he prefers to all others, have something hard, something less supple and flowing about them which a little of the dissonant or chromatic softens. That was why, parenthetically, Marmontel could compare Gluck to Shakespeare (by no means a eulogy in his eyes, and as a comparison quite without meaning to us), while he likened the Italians (and quite erroneously) to Racine. At any rate, if harshness is not always in evidence in Gluck's harmonies, they often do show poverty or monotony. And his rhythms, but slightly varied, do not help efface this impression.

Finally, the tragic ideal which the composer of "*Alceste*" wished to realize compelled him, perhaps, to employ a style too consistently elevated, and which in the end appears stiff and starched. Claude Debussy said that Gluck bored him; we cannot always say as much, but it is certain that at times he is somewhat pedantic.*

* André Suarès has written: "Gluck is a rustic endowed with genius. Gluck's operas are out and out Italian, for all he wishes to appear altogether

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Every artistic conception is open to discussion, and we merely wished to show how that of Gluck might be discussed. It remains true, notwithstanding, that, although one may prefer an art more complex, more supple, or more varied, it would be difficult to imagine one more elevated and more pure.

* * *

It is an epoch in the history of music which draws to a close. After Gluck, the reign of the musical tragedy swiftly comes to an end. The transition period begins, and Gluck's successors prolong the existence of a genus already out of date, while preparing the advent of new art forms.

The Revolution breaks out. This does not, as one might think, mean the end of theatrical performances. Quite the contrary. A decree of January, 1791, proclaims freedom of performance: sixty theatrical stages are opened in Paris, among which sixteen or eighteen are musical ones. Occasional pieces are given: the "*Siège de Lille*" (1792), by **Kreutzer**; the "*Réveil du peuple ou la Cause et les Effets*" (1793), by **Trial**; "*l'Intérieur d'un Ménage républicain*" (1794), by **Fay**; "*les Vrais sans-culottes*" (1794), by **Lemoyne**; "*Viala ou le héros de la Durance*" (1794), by **Berton**. The music is often very weak, and at times pure vaudeville. Besides this, the old comic opera and the opera proper also flourished.

At this period there appeared a composer of the first rank, **Méhul** (born in Givet, in 1763; died in Paris, in 1817), the composer of the "*Chant du Départ*," the "*Chant du Retour*," the "*Chant de Victoire*," of "*Euphrosine*" (1790), of "*Stratonice*" (1792), of "*Ariodant*" (1799), of "*l'Irato*" (1802), and of "*Joseph*" (1807), his masterpiece. Méhul continued the Gluck

French and German. It is this illegitimate form, between music and poetry, which doubles expression and loosens it, which indiscriminately stresses all, which weighs down everything, which nourishes the dramatic text with a sort of thick paste, in which sentimental rhetoric plays a far greater part than real sentiment. The Elysian Fields in '*Orfeo*' are a sublime invention; yet how many airs, in the style of 'I have lost my Eurydice' are superabundant, puffed up and silly, in short, intolerable! This barbarian never knows when to stop; in spite of his classic appearance, he is powerful and coarse; in brief, he sentimentalizes and never stops sentimentalizing."

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tradition; he has its simplicity and grandeur though not always its purity. He is more sentimental, and seeks color in his orchestrations; as in his "*Uthal*" (1806), in which the violins are supplanted and replaced by the violas. In this composer many of the germs of romanticism already are in evidence.

Beside Méhul, but on a lower plane, stands **Cherubini** (born in Florence, in 1760; died in Paris in 1842). He was a scholarly polyphonist, who first composed for the church and then wrote operas in the Italian style. When he came to France he changed his style in imitation of Gluck; it was then that he wrote "*Lodoïska*" (1791) and his "*Deux Journées*" (1800). Hounded by the enmity of Napoleon, he went to Vienna, where he had "*Lodoïska*," and then "*Faniska*," performed, Haydn and Beethoven applauding his success. Later, he once more returned to France, and in 1821 was appointed director of the Conservatoire. Beethoven wrote to him to ask his assistance in obtaining a subscription from the king of France for his "*Mass in D*." Cherubini did not even take the trouble to reply.

Cherubini's music is well written, and that is all one can say for it; it is the music of a professor of composition.

Attention should here be called as well to the names of **Lesueur** (1763-1837), composer of "*Ossian ou les Bardes*," who has the special merit of having been Berlioz's teacher, and of having contributed to give him a taste for descriptive music; and of **Spontini** (1774-1851), who for a moment brought the musical tragedy to the surface again by composing "*la Vestale*" (1807), a decidedly mixed work, at bottom very Italian, whose success was very great, and sufficiently durable to lead to the belief that a new masterpiece had been born, one comparable to "*Orfeo*," "*Alceste*," or "*Armide*."

But the taste of the public was soon to change. The creation in Paris of an *Italian opera*, where the works of **Paesiello** (1741-1816), composer of "*La Molinera*" ("The Pretty Miller Maid") and "*Barbiere di Siviglia*," and of **Cimarosa** (1754-1801), composer of "*Matrimonio segreto*," were played; the predilection of the first Napoleon for Italian music, "which did not prevent him," so Cherubini tells us, "from thinking of affairs of state," assured the triumph of Italianism and the coming reign of

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Rossini, Meyerbeer, Halévy, and Auber; the *historic opera* was soon to succeed the *operatic tragedy*.

On the other hand, in Germany Mozart, Beethoven, and Weber were preparing the advent of the *symphonic and romantic opera*, which Wagner was to develop in such a wonderful fashion.

This is, indeed, the end of the *musical tragedy* created by the Florentines and by Monteverde, and realized in its most perfect form by Gluck's genius.

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CHAPTER XI

THE ORIGIN OF THE SYMPHONY: THE CLASSIC SONATA

As in the case of Gluck succeeding Lully and Rameau in France, so in Germany, with Haydn and Mozart following after Bach and Handel, another age begins. Within a few years' time all is changed; we no longer have the same art; more luminous, clearer, simpler, more perfected, it now truly deserves to be called **classic art**.

The part played by Monsigny, Philidor, Grétry, and the French comic-opera composers in the shaping of a new ideal of beauty already has been noticed, and France took her part, an important one, in this great movement which was then rejuvenating the art of music.

The French, however, were especially fond of theatrical music; "pure" music interested them but little. One of the greatest events of the classic age, therefore, the birth of the symphony, did not occur in France. Germany was the land which had the honor of bringing the new form into existence.

In so doing Germany, however, was not altogether creative; she reacted to influences proceeding from France and Italy, yet she alone discovered for these factors borrowed from French and Italian music the happy and definitive form wherein they might be combined to give pleasure of a kind hitherto unknown.

* * *

Let us make a rapid survey of French symphonic music in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. We will notice that it moves in a direction directly opposed to that which led to the success of the Germanic symphony.

In the seventeenth century the dance had furnished practically all the material of French symphonic music, irrespective of the title under which it appeared: **Lully's** "*Overtures*,"

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"*Ballets*," and "*Sommeils*" ("Dreams"); **Monteclair's** "*Sérénades*" or "*Concerts*" (1697), for two violins and bass; **Dornel's** "*Symphonies*" (1709), species of small "suites in trio form." The "fanfare" airs, the *airs champêtres* ("country airs"), the "tender" airs, as a rule, are equally well "suited for dancing." Nevertheless, picturesque intentions lend piquancy to the genus, and attenuate its practically useful character; it is not merely a question of providing dance music; a desire to paint nature is evident.

At the very least Lully did found the art of the orchestra. It was a great conquest. From every corner of Europe people came to admire it, they learned from him, and imitated him.

Twenty years after Lully's death the invasion of Italian sonatas and cantatas aroused the emulation of French musicians to such an extent that somewhat later, in 1725, **Philidor** thought of instituting the *Concerts spirituels* to give the symphonists and the virtuosos an opportunity of appearing regularly in public. The news of this creation made a great impression abroad. The discipline and the careful execution of an orchestra relatively numerous, at least for that time, was highly praised. A few years later the example was followed in Germany. We might note the repugnance which the French at once displayed for "pure" music. Even in concert they wanted something resembling theatrical music, above all they demanded dramatic effects; they insisted that at the very least, in order to please them, the larger share be given the intelligence, and that the compositions offered them have an interest dominantly literary and picturesque. "The loveliest song," cried Pluche, in 1732, in his *Spectacle de la nature*, "when it is merely instrumental, necessarily, almost grows cold, then tiresome, since it expresses nothing. It is a handsome coat separated from the body and hung on a peg. . . . Sonatas are music in the same sense that marbled paper is a painting."

The *Concerts spirituels* took place thirty-five times a year, on religious festival days when no performances were given at the *Opéra*. In their programmes the "motets" by **Lalande** (1657-1726), sacred cantatas in a symmetrical style, solemn and cold, long occupied a place of honor beside the sonatas

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and concertos of *Corelli*, *Vivaldi*, and their French emulants, the violinist composers, **J. B. Senaillé** (?-1730), and **J.-M. Leclair** (1697-1764), whose "grace, clearness, and sweet simplicity," were preferred to the "difficulties" and "extraordinary tricks" of the Italians.

At a later date the motets of **Mondonville** (1711-1772), succeeded those of Lalande in public favor; they always displayed the same massive forms, regular and shallow, and the same purely decorative art without expression and altogether external.

The musical heart of France did not beat there; it pulsed in the *Opéra* and the *Opéra-Comique*—in the *Opéra*, where Rameau presented masterpieces which, as we have already remarked, were valuable especially with regard to the parts that dealt with symphonic description and the dance.

In 1754 **J. Stamitz**, of the Mannheim school, came to Paris and had one of his symphonies performed at the *Concerts spirituels*; a second was played at them in 1755. Shortly after **Gossec** (1734-1829), no doubt taking Stamitz as a model, composed symphonies and quartets in the classic form, yet decidedly dry in inspiration and with an altogether fore-shortened development. He was more successful in cantata and oratorio: his "*Te Deum*," his "*Requiem Mass*," his "*Nativité*" offer pages which already presage, at least so far as the descriptive intention is concerned, a search for effects in *timbre*, and the wish to astonish, two of the characteristics of Berlioz's art. Like his contemporaries, **Calvière**, **Dauvergne**, and **Daquin**, Gossec enjoyed "making his audience tremble" by means "of the most pathetic chords"; he liked to "imitate the terrible sound of the thunder joined to that of the raging waves . . . the upheavals of nature . . . the breaking-down of the universe!" He plans the "terrible effect" of a group of wind instruments "hidden in the distance to announce the Day of Judgment, while the orchestra expresses terror by a muted *tremulando* of all the string instruments. In his "*Nativité*" he places a "chorus of angels, separated from the orchestra, below the roof of the hall in the dome of the palace of the Tuileries." This chorus "could be heard perfectly, without being

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seen, and created a fine illusion. The conductor who led it regulated his beat according to that of the conductor of the large orchestra, whom he watched through a small hole the size of the hollow of the hand made in the platform." In all, it is the theatrical effect which Gossec seeks to introduce into concert. We are far from the art of **Haydn**, whose symphonies, notwithstanding, found their way into France beginning with 1764.

Gossec, in 1770, founded the *Concerts des Amateurs*, and in 1773 reorganized the *Concerts spirituels*, which he conducted together with the violinist *Gaviniès* and with *Leduc*. At the *Concerts des Amateurs* the so-called "formidable" orchestra comprised forty violins, twelve 'cellos, eight contrabassoons, and the usual wind instruments. The *Concerts des Amateurs* were replaced in 1781 by the *Concerts de la Loge Olympique*, for which Haydn wrote six of his finest symphonies (1784).

The Revolution brusquely arrested this great current of symphonic music, or rather, deflected it for its own advantage. Gossec, beginning with 1789, was appointed director of the music of the national festivals, and after *Sarrette* had obtained the direction of the *Institut national de musique* (1793), which soon after became the *Conservatoire* (1795), Gossec was chosen as its inspector, with *Cherubini* and *Lesueur*. **Gossec, Lesueur, Méhul, Cherubini, Dalryac, Berton, Catel** successively collaborated in the organization of all the revolutionary festivals. When we think of the grandiose magnificence of these ceremonies, at which military symphonies were performed in public squares by monster orchestras, where patriotic songs were intoned by thousands of choristers, and repeated by a whole people, we cannot help but think with *Tiersot* that *Berlioz*, the pupil of *Lesueur*, the composer of the "*Symphonie funèbre et triomphale*" and of the "*Requiem*" for five orchestras, was the direct heir of all these musicians of the Revolution, who merely adapted to new circumstances, and with infinitely more powerful means, the picturesque, pathetic, and somewhat theatrical art which they had deployed under the old *régime*, in composing their "*Te Deums*" and their "*Last Judgments*."

All in all, it was the advent of the symphonic poem and not

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that of the symphony proper which, since Lully and Rameau, was being prepared in France.

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Germany was the cradle of the symphony. This noteworthy invention she owed partly to her own genius, and partly to her special conditions of existence.

It is certain, in fact, that the Germans are naturally inclined to inward meditation, and that sentimental revery disposes them to take special pleasure in music from which all extra-musical interest is excluded, and which finds the essential principle of its development within itself.

We must also remember the fact that in the eighteenth century Germany was a land greatly divided in the political sense, portioned out among a crowd of petty sovereigns who were not rich, and who barely managed to provide for the up-keep of their courts. They could not allow themselves the expensive luxury of a musical drama; it would have cost them far too much. Yet, if put to it, they could support the expense of simple orchestra concerts.

It might be added that the institution of the "poor scholars," generalized throughout Germany, furnished them with a numerous personnel of instrumental players.*

The development of the symphony in the Germanic countries is thus explained by reasons of a psychological and of a social nature.

In a great city like *Vienna*, the opera naturally absorbed a large part of the sum total of musical activities. Nevertheless, in 1750, under the name of "musical academies," the first public concerts were inaugurated, taking place on Fridays and during Lent, in imitation of the *Paris Concerts spirituels*.

In *Munich*, *Stuttgart*, and *Dresden*, there was not much else beside the Italian opera, which might rouse enthusiasm for instrumental music.

In a small city like Darmstadt, however, which could not

* The "poor scholars" were brought up gratuitously in schools, on condition of learning the musician's trade and assisting at the concerts organized by the cities and the courts.

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afford opera, the concerts were the sole musical distraction of a court but little spoiled by excess of pleasure. **Christoph Graupner** (d. 1760), in Darmstadt, was one of the initiators of the symphony.

In *Hamburg*, **Telemann** conducted the performances of orchestral music which represented an attempt to rival those of the French *Concerts spirituels*.

In *Leipsic*, **Doles** (1715-1797) founded "grand concerts" in 1781, which, from the locality whence they were transferred, took the name, since become famous, of *Gewandhaus* concerts (concerts of the Clothiers' Hall).

In *Berlin*, Frederick II engaged **Karl Heinrich Graun** (1701-1759) as composer, and this musician, too, was one of the creators of the symphony.

The most musical court in Germany, perhaps, was that of *Mannheim*. Here all was done in imitation of Versailles. There was a French comedy and an Italian opera, and concerts were also given with the aid of an excellent orchestra and the assistance of virtuosos who had come from all parts of Europe. There were two "*Academies*" per week. **Johann Stamitz** (1717-1757), born in Bohemia, settled in Mannheim in 1745, and was heard in Paris (1754), where his "*Six Sonatas*" in three concertant parts, written to be performed by three players or by the entire orchestra, were engraved (1755). **Franz Xavier Richter** (1709-?), born in Moravia, whose symphonies had been published in Paris in 1744, also established himself in Mannheim in 1748. In 1769 he left Mannheim for Strasbourg. All sorts of composers met and had their symphonies performed in Mannheim, which thus became a most important musical centre: **Toeschi, Flitz, Holzbauer, Cannabich**. They formed a group which is designated by the name of the *Mannheim school*.

Toward 1745 the symphony was a genus so widely cultivated through Germany that **Scheibe** mentions it in his *Kritischer Musikus*, as a composition in three portions, of which the first was divided into two parts, the second part reproducing the first and modifying it, while mingling with it "unexpected inventions."

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In the classic symphony we are able, on the one hand, to study the *form* of its plan or design, and, on the other, the means of instrumental realization.

* * *

Its *form* is that of the **Classic Sonata**. Here we should call attention to the great part played in its development by **Karl Philipp Emanuel Bach** (1714-1788), the second son of the great Bach. He headed the movement of revolt against the music of the scholars, the ingenuities of counterpoint, the polyphonic researches which we admire so greatly in Johann Sebastian Bach; yet which ceased to be the fashion toward the middle of the eighteenth century, to give way to a simple, more direct art, one more closely akin to the popular melody—an art whose success the Italian opera, both serious and buffa, had long since prepared.

The new style passed from the operatic stage to the concert-hall, and **Karl Philipp Emanuel Bach** contributed more than any other to popularize it.

Karl Philipp Emanuel Bach, during his lifetime, enjoyed a reputation which his father, Johann Sebastian, never gained. It was he, Karl Philipp Emanuel, and not Johann Sebastian, who was known as "the great Bach." This musician has special interest for us to-day, because of his historic importance. To us he looms as the principal inventor of the classic sonata, and more especially as the precursor of Beethoven, who borrowed from him many of his methods, and whose energy of expression, a somewhat violent fantasy in his caprices, and brusquely defined contrasts he sometimes shows.

Yet Karl Philipp Emanuel Bach does not carry his intentions to their logical conclusion. He is a half-genius. He has written no work which endures.

* * *

The characteristics of the **classic sonata** are exactly defined only little by little, as a result of all sorts of tentative gropings. First of all, the first movement of the sonata or the symphony

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has but a *single theme*; then the habit is formed of opposing two presentations of the theme in *two different tonalities*; and thence timidly, and then with ever greater deliberation, we come to the exposition of a *second theme* after the first; finally, at the beginning of the reprise a place increasingly large is arranged for the *divertissement* (development), in which the two themes are employed as material for a polyphonic working out.

Once the plan of the classic sonata has been definitely established, we may resume its essential features as follows:

(1) The classic sonata is constructed according to a *ternary*, no longer a *binary* symmetry, as in the age preceding.* It is composed of three movements in the following order: *swift, slow, swift*.

The **first movement**, the initial *allegro*, was itself divided into three parts: (a) an *exposition of the two themes*, the second generally presented in the dominant or the relative key of the fundamental key, in order that the end of this first part might actually be in this new tonality; (b) the *divertissement* or development, in which all sorts of polyphonic combinations between the two themes were attempted (this is the "scientific" section of the sonata); (c) the *recapitulation* of the two themes, the second this time appearing in the same key as the first, it being necessary to conclude in the fundamental tonality.

The **second movement** (*andante, adagio, larghetto*) was written in the song form, or in *variation form*. If a song, it is, nevertheless, made up of three parts; it offers a melodic sentence between whose two repetitions appears an interlude, usually in another tonality or in another mood. As to the variations, it is needless to define them.

The **third movement** (*allegro* or *presto*) was constructed like the first, of two themes and in three sections; or else it might be a *rondo*, that is to say, a refrain whose repetitions are separated one from another by couplets which vary continually.

We might add that between the second and last movements a *menuet* or, later, a *scherzo* often was intercalated.

(2) Under the influence of the operatic style the classic

* Long before, this symmetry had been adopted for the *Overture* and the *Concerto*.

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sonata became essentially *monodic*; nearly everywhere we can distinguish between the melody, the singing voice, and the accompaniment. It is only here and there, for example, in the development of the first movement that polyphony appears, and that all parts assume equal importance and move on the same plane. We have here a mixture of the church and the chamber sonata; and the composer enjoys all the more liberty—the impressions of the auditor are all the more varied because of it. Even without melody and polyphony, purely *harmonic*, purely *rhythmic* effects or of *sustained* tone will soon be sought, effects of *tone color* as well as effects of *silence*—it will no longer resemble the ancient sonata, that of Bach, which pushed straight ahead, never stopped, once it had started, and carried along all the instruments at the same time and in the same movement up to the last measure. The air, daylight, and sunny radiance have penetrated the heart of the luxuriant forest.

(3) The *development* in the classic sonata becomes a far more subtle art than before. Hitherto the development of a theme implied its presentation, identical with itself or, at any rate, complete (for at times it was accelerated or retarded or turned over in various ways), by means of contrapuntal combination or transposition. Now the theme is modified in a thousand and one ways, until it becomes unrecognizable; its rhythm is completely altered, divided into fragments which are rewelded into another shape, or separately utilized; the analysis of the theme becomes the point of departure for all sorts of new syntheses. Ideas quite foreign at times are introduced because of the simple analogy which connects them, by no matter how slight a thread, with the principal ideas. Thus *thematic unity* becomes far more difficult to perceive and often even yields to a *unity of sentiment*. On the other hand, the tonal unity always remains very marked. The sonata might be defined as *a system of modulations*. In a general way the movement passes from the tonic to the dominant or its related key, to return to the tonic; yet with an increasing amount of fantasy in these digressions from this thoroughly unified route, which the composer allows himself to take. He departs from it in

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an infinite number of ways, in order to make us desire his return the more, and to augment our surprise.

* * *

Now that we have considered the form of the classic sonata, let us pass to the **means of instrumental realization** which it employed.

The *older sonata* was written for a solo, a duo, or a trio of *virtuosos*, either with or without orchestral accompaniment; in any case, the orchestra always played a secondary, accompanying part. *Sonatas written for orchestra* or *symphonies* were a novelty; as also was the writing of sonatas for two violins, viola, and 'cello—the *quartets*.

Imitating the *sonatas for three players* of the Italians, the symphonies were in first instance *orchestral trios*. From these, composers passed on to the employ of a larger number of independent parts. Little by little the use of the *figured bass* and the *accompanying clavichord* which conducted the orchestra fell into disuse. The *wind instruments* were employed apart from the strings, and no longer merely used to double the latter or for some exceptional solo. Music was no longer conceived abstractly with regard to its instrumental realization; the effects of *tone color* were studied and exploited for their own sake.

In the symphony and in the quartet the virtuoso no longer holds the stage; his rôle, at all events, is one more and more effaced; the orchestra or quartet becomes no more than a single great instrument with multiple voices, all of whose resources the composer utilizes for an interest which increasingly becomes more purely musical.

The *string quartet* in particular, as a consequence, becomes the severest form of instrumental music; it borrows its polyphonic writing from the vocal quartet of the sixteenth century, whose rôle it assumes and extends.

Side by side with the symphony and quartet the older types of instrumental music persist; composers continue to write concertos, sonatas for three or for two instruments. Sonatas for clavecin and, later, for solo pianoforte are also written.

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These last take on an ever-increasing importance, and become one of the expressional means preferred by Beethoven.

* * *

Aside from the artists of Germanic origin whose names we have cited in this connection, certain Italians, notably **Giovanni Battista Sammartini** (1701-1775), who produced a great number of symphonies and string quartets in Milan, played their part in the elaboration of the classic style of instrumental music.* Yet it was not upon Italian ground that these new inventions were destined to prosper. The symphony demanded a persevering constructive effort to which Italian indolence was but ill inclined. It was not enough to have conceived the idea of organisms with the flexibility and fine balance of the symphony and the classic sonata. It was necessary to realize them otherwise than by mere ephemeral essays. They had to be infused with life, with an intense and lasting vitality. And this only the genius of those great Germans, Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven, was capable of doing.

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* The names of two celebrated virtuosos, who were composers as well, are associated with the Italian school of instrumental music: those of the 'cellist BOCCHERINI (1743-1805), who wrote 91 quartets, 125 quintets, etc., etc., and VIOTTI (1753-1824), the founder of the modern school of violin playing, who wrote 29 concertos for his instrument.

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CHAPTER XII

HAYDN AND MOZART

The classic music of Germany is more especially Austrian, Viennese. Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven lived in Vienna. The situation of the Austrian capital, lying between Germany and Italy, and influenced by both, destined it to play a great part in the musical life of the end of the eighteenth century. It represented, in fact, a fusion of two arts, the more profound, yet somewhat scholastic art of North Germany, and the more frivolous and superficial, yet more supple and spontaneous art of Italy, a fusion which was to give birth to new forms and inspirations. The Haydn and Mozart sonata and symphony are the final, very happy results of the invasion of music's every domain by the spirit of the Italian opera; the severe style of instrumental polyphony thereby being suddenly brightened and rejuvenated.

Haydn and Mozart were contemporaries. Though Haydn was born in advance of Mozart, he died long after him. These two great musicians knew and loved each other. Haydn said to Mozart's father: "I tell you in God's own sight, I swear to you on my honor, that your son is in my eyes the greatest composer who ever existed!" Mozart, dedicating his quartets to Haydn, wrote: "This is a debt which I repay, for it is he alone who has revealed to me the art of writing them." He not only esteemed his master, but had a profound affection for the man whom he called his dear "papa." He wept when he saw him leaving for England in his old age, for fear he would not see him again; it was, in fact, the final separation, yet neither the one nor the other at that time thought that it would be Haydn who, upon his return to Vienna, would no longer find his young friend awaiting him there.

Franz Josef Haydn was born on the night of April 1, 1732, at Rohrau, a small village of Lower Austria, near the Hungarian

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frontier. His father, a wheelwright and sexton, had a tenor voice, and enjoyed singing to his own accompaniment on the harp. His mother, who had been a cook, joined in her husband's improvised concerts. Little Franz Josef's first teacher, Johann Matthias Frankh, the choir regent and "rector" of the Catholic school of Rohrau, taught him to sing and to play a little on the violin and clavicin. When eight years old Haydn entered Saint Stephen's choir school in Vienna, and there acquired his entire musical education, especially as regards the practice of an art whose principles were never taught him methodically by any one. In 1749, at the age of seventeen, he was quite naturally compelled to give up his duties as a choir-boy.

He found himself on the Vienna streets without resources of any kind, and for a time led the happy life of an ambulant musician, playing the violin on the pavements, and in the courts and taverns. During his leisure moments he composed, or studied the treatises of the masters, the *Gradus ad Parnassum* of Fux (1715), and *Mattheson's* works; or else read *Karl Philipp Emanuel Bach's* new sonatas. Living by chance in the same house with the celebrated librettist *Metastasio*, he made his acquaintance, and through him that of the musician *Porpora* (1685-1767), whom he served for some time as a valet in order to profit by his advice. Finally young Haydn was fortunate in meeting a gentleman, Baron Karl Josef von Fürstenberg, who was pleased with him, engaged him as violinist-composer, and took him along to his residence in Weinzierl. Thence, toward 1759, he passed into the service of Maximilian von Morzin, chamberlain to the empress, who spent his summers on his estate of Lukarec, in Bohemia. There Haydn conducted a small orchestra of twelve or fifteen musicians, for which he wrote divertissements and symphonies. Two years later Haydn entered the service of Prince Paul Anton Esterhazy, to which he was to remain attached for the remainder of his days. At the same time he married the second daughter of the peruke maker, Johann Peter Keller, though it was her older sister whom he loved, and whose hand he had demanded in marriage. The latter, however, having told him that she already was en-

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gaged, Haydn resigned himself to marrying the younger sister, for whom he did not care, to please the worthy wig-maker, who had often come to his rescue when he was impoverished. Anna Maria Keller, three years older than her husband, haughty and capricious, plagued him his life long, yet did not succeed in ruining his happy disposition.

Thenceforward Haydn's life flowed along calmly and monotonously at the Esterhazys. An incredible amount of music was needed in that princely mansion, and it was with difficulty that the incomparable fecundity of the new conductor sufficed to meet such demands. Every morning he composed; in the afternoon he rehearsed his musicians; in the evening, following the prince's orders, he conducted one or more concerts before, during, or after dinner. He disposed of five violins, a 'cello, a contrabass, a flute, two oboes, two bassoons, two horns, an organist, two sopranos, a contralto, two tenors, and a bass. When Prince Paul Anton died in 1762, his brother, "the great" Prince Nikolaus Esterhazy, inherited the title and estates. Prince Nikolaus, who was interested in music not only as a music-lover but also as an executant (he played the barytone, the *viola di bordone* or *viola bastarda*, a kind of gamba violin strung with sympathetic strings like the *viola d'amore*), demanded a far greater amount of work from Haydn; in return, he placed far greater resources at his disposal.

Haydn, toward the end of his life, declared himself very well satisfied with the long years he had passed in the Esterhazy service: "My prince," said he, "was always satisfied with my works; not only did I enjoy the encouragement of constant approbation, but finding myself at the head of an orchestra entirely obedient to my orders, I could make experiments, try out effects; separated from the remainder of the world, I had nothing to trouble me, and was compelled to be original." Given his happy disposition, Haydn would have been contented in any situation; his own might have seemed very uncomfortable to others, to a Beethoven, for instance. In fact, he did not enjoy any independence; the prince's will was his sovereign command. He had to compose as much as his master wished, and in the style which suited the latter; otherwise, he was called

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to order, at times quite harshly. At the performances, the entire orchestra, Haydn included, appeared in livery, and the musicians were lodged with the servants. Haydn, far from rebelling against this state of servitude, was proud of "belonging" to a great lord whose good taste and magnificence were so highly famed. This need not surprise us; it was the condition of nearly all musicians up to the end of the eighteenth century. Gluck and Beethoven were the ones who first began to cast off the yoke.

In the castle of Eisenstadt, the Esterhazy residence, Haydn lived in great isolation. His reputation, nevertheless, spread far abroad. Works by him were published in Paris as early as 1764, in Amsterdam in 1765, and in Vienna in 1769. Beginning with 1780, in particular, his music was demanded on all sides, by directors of concerts and music publishers. In 1784 he wrote six grand symphonies for the *Concerts de la Loge Olympique* in Paris.

The death of Prince Nikolaus Esterhazy, in 1790, allowed Haydn to pay greater attention to gaining fame and fortune. Prince Anton, heir to the estate, was no musician; he dismissed Haydn, at the same time adding 400 gulden to the life pension of 1,000 gulden which had been left him by Prince Nikolaus. Nominally Haydn remained attached to the princely household as musical director and conductor; yet he no longer had any actual obligations with which to comply, and could dispose of his time as he saw fit. A London impresario made Haydn brilliant offers to come to England and conduct his works in person there. England at that time was "an isle full of song" to which, in default of national musicians, all the great foreign artists were invited and fêted. There Haydn was accorded the welcome he deserved. He returned in June, 1792, exhausted by the unremitting effort he had been obliged to make in order to gratify all the exigencies of the public and his impresario, who ceaselessly clamored for new compositions.

Haydn, overjoyed to return to his own land, his tranquil existence and his friends, bought a small house with a little garden in a Vienna suburb, and rested there for a year and a half. He set out again for London in 1794; and this time was

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definitely accepted by the court and the English public, and great pressure was brought to bear on him to settle in England. He refused and returned to Vienna in the summer of 1795. He continued to compose and have his works performed, notably "*The Creation*" (1796), and "*The Seasons*" (1802). He lived surrounded by the respect of all, yet little by little his powers abandoned him, and he was obliged to give up work. He died May 31, 1809, three weeks after the entry of the French into Vienna and as a result of the great emotional shock which the event had given him.

Haydn was a good man, trustful and credulous, tranquil and of established piety, who lived a life devoid of trouble. He was not heartless, yet the passions were unknown to him; very innocently and joyously he solved without seeking the problem of happiness, which so many others find an indecipherable enigma.

To George III, king of England, who said to him one day, "Doctor Haydn, you have composed a great deal," he replied, "Yes, Sire, a little more than was wise." And the impression at first conveyed when we are confronted by so considerable an output is, in fact, that many of its components have been too hastily conceived, and would of necessity be very quickly forgotten. Thus, in the catalogue of his works, we find a whole series of operas and masses of which but few pages are worth recalling.

There can be no doubt that no composer was less gifted for the stage than Haydn; he seems to have possessed the dramatic instinct only to a feeble degree; the poems which he set to music did not set his heart aflame, and, wisely, he strove to imitate *Scarlatti* or *Porpora*, and above all devoted himself to his own sonatas and symphonies. On the other hand, he had no ridiculous ideas regarding his merit in this respect, and, answering a correspondent who had begged him to compose an opera for Prague, where "*Don Giovanni*" had just been performed, he replied: "I should run too many risks, for it would be difficult for any other to attempt to stand beside the great Mozart."

Haydn was a pious believer: his religious music, notwithstanding, is the most empty and deplorably worldly imaginable.

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In the first place, fashion in his day, which insisted that a musical mass be no more than a concert of opera airs with vocalises, *portamentos*, ornaments, and cadences, is primarily responsible for this. Yet is not Haydn himself also guilty to some extent? No doubt he was a sincere Roman Catholic, yet his piety was mainly a matter of correct habit: his reflection or feeling did not play a large part in his religion, but rather the joy he derived from his concept of a universe harmoniously organized under the leadership of a God infinitely merciful, arranging all for the best. His religion was merely a form of his natural optimism and a consequence of his physical well-being. It expressed itself only in rather soulless jubilations, in which none of the mystery of life or of death was ever evoked. One of his works, however, calls for mention here: "*The Seven Last Words of Christ*." These "seven sonatas, with an earthquake at the end" were composed in 1785, for orchestra alone; each number was introduced in succession by a short bass recitative, which declaimed the words of Christ. They were then arranged by Haydn for chorus with accompaniment; and he also reduced them for string quartet. Only the original form, however, is valid. Here Haydn is at ease in a symphonic framework; his wish to write for the voices does not lead to his momentarily dropping into clumsy imitation of the Italians; he writes a series of *adagios* a little too general in expression, whose sentiment is not very searching, yet which are perfectly held, solid in development and grandly mannered.

Haydn has been happy in his vocal writing only in the case of his two oratorios, "*The Creation*" and "*The Seasons*." The poem of "*The Creation*," after Milton's "*Paradise Lost*," was originally intended for Handel; it was translated into German by Gerhard van Swieten and offered to Haydn. The latter, who always had a taste for musical description, eagerly seized the opportunity to pass in review every aspect and creature of nature in a series of little pictures. The work was naïve and ingenious, frank and robust. Nevertheless, it is altogether lacking in a certain quality of emotion. Light, the winds, the seas, the flowers, the animals are all presented in turn in a decidedly picturesque manner; yet, when finally man and woman, Adam

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and Eve, appear, poor Haydn, compelled to give up the depiction of material nature in order to make us realize the dignity of moral nature, finds himself much embarrassed, stops short, and drops into formulas.

"*The Seasons*" is absolutely similar in type to "*The Creation*." It is also a hymn to nature and to the Creator, divided into short tableaux. Haydn was fond of the fields, of animals, and country life; he was attached to them with a very simple affection, a child-love somewhat like that of La Fontaine, and therein lies the charm of the two works.

In them, however, we must not seek Haydn's greatness. That he occupies so important a place in musical history is because he played an important part in the shaping of the **classic sonata** and the **symphony**.

It should be understood, as we have already mentioned, that he was not, as was long believed, their creator. Long before his day, during the lifetime of Johann Sebastian Bach himself and of Handel, others had prepared the ground, blazed unknown trails, obtained an immediate success with their contemporaries. Haydn transmitted to posterity his predecessors' inventions; by means of his masterpieces he founded an enduring tradition. He organized the conquests of a host of seekers, illustrious in their own time, but in our day forgotten or little known.

It was in the *symphony* and in the *quartet* that Haydn gave the most striking proofs of his genius.

His *sonatas* for piano, and for piano and violin, as well as his *trios* are not always very interesting; they are often negligently written and poor in development; and all too frequently only works of the second class.*

His first compositions for orchestra and for string quartet are also rather weak. But the symphonies and the quartets of his maturity testify to a marvellous aptitude on his part with regard to the art of development, and a very delicate feeling for proportion and symmetry. No great musician, perhaps, was more purely the architect. His melodies themselves are

* Some admirable works form exceptions to this rule, for example, the sonata for piano in E flat, op. 78.

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"constructed" with ingenious care; they are most attractively phrased, well-turned, and if we are to judge by the manuscript of the *Austrian national hymn*, seem to have caused the composer much toil. He worked over his themes and his developments, and the most natural and flowing among them, no doubt, were built up methodically, bit by bit. Yet all his calculations were guided by a wonderful instinct; it was therein that his genius excelled.

Haydn did not place his constructive art at the service of a violently impassioned heart, a tragic soul. His music, above all, is meant for the ear, which it charms, for the spirit which it satisfies; he has nothing profoundly moving to tell us. His is genuine *absolute music*, in which the entire interest lies in the tonal development rather than in the thoughts and sentiments the latter might arouse. Nevertheless, Haydn at times found an opportunity to lend his music a certain significance; when this is the case, however, he almost invariably translates into music external objects and not psychological states of mind. He likes to paint *musical landscapes*; in his symphonies or quartets he imitates the song of the nightingale, or of the cuckoo; he paints the rising of the dawn; yet even these are merely fleeting indications in the exposition of themes whose symmetrical development soon makes us forget their pictorial values.

In this ingenuous art of "Papa" Haydn there is something a trifle *bourgeois* and well-nigh prosaic. Heine's words with regard to Monsigny have been very happily applied to Haydn: "We find in him the serenest grace, an ingenuous sweetness, a freshness comparable to the perfume of the woods, a truthful nature . . . and even poesy; yes, this is not wanting; yet it is a poesy without the thrill of the infinite, without the charm of mystery, lacking bitterness, lacking irony, devoid of 'morbidity,' I might almost say a poesy enjoying the best of good health."

What always throws Haydn's art into relief, what confers upon it an imperishable value, is the invention displayed in its rhythms, the amplitude of their development, the power of their activating force. There is none more "alive" than this

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music, and at times none more powerful; already, here and there, it has the Beethovenian accent.

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Haydn, before all else, is a symphonist. Mozart's more universal genius inclines more strongly to opera. "My most vivid, ardent wish," said he, "is to write for the stage: this thought ceaselessly torments me. As soon as I set foot in an opera-house, as soon as I hear operas mentioned, I no longer can contain myself."

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (baptismally Johannes Chrysostomus Wolfgangus Theophilus Mozart) was born January 27, 1756, in Salzburg.

His father, *Leopold Mozart*, first court composer, then assistant conductor of the orchestra of the prince-bishop of Salzburg, was a musician of parts. The four children originally born to him had all died, when, in 1751, Maria Anna (familarly known as *Nannerl*), who soon became a remarkable pianist, saw the light of day. She was united her life long to her brother Wolfgang by ties of the deepest affection, and died in 1820. After Anna Maria, Leopold Mozart had two other children who did not survive; and, finally, on January 27, 1756, Wolfgang Amadeus.

As is known, Mozart was an infant prodigy. When three years old he hunted for thirds on the piano; when four, without even knowing his notes, he attempted to compose a concerto. His father and mother devoted themselves altogether to his musical education, and to that of his sister. To Leopold Mozart's credit be it said that he gave up composition completely from the day his son, in his turn, began to write. In 1762 (*Nannerl* was eleven and Wolfgang six), their father undertook a tour with his two children to Munich and Vienna. The following year they pushed on to Paris. Little Wolfgang astounded his auditors by his skill as a clavecinist and organist. In Paris his first engraved works appeared: four sonatas for violin, two of them dedicated to the Princess Victoire of France. Then they were off to England: **Johann Christian Bach** (Johann Sebastian's youngest son) admired the imperturbable virtuosity

of this baby who played concertos, deciphered figured-bass, transposed, improvised, and composed little symphonies. Wolfgang had an opportunity of hearing Handel's music and several operas in England. He was in particular profoundly affected by the influence of the Italianizing Johann Christian Bach. Finally the Mozarts returned home over Holland, Paris, and Switzerland. In The Hague, Wolfgang and his sister fell seriously ill, and for months lay at death's door. In November, 1766, the two children and their father, however, are on their way back to Salzburg. Mozart, who was then ten years old, now wrote his first oratorio. Then came a trip to Vienna, where the two children were attacked by small-pox. Wolfgang, following the emperor's request, then composed his first opera, "*La Finta semplice*" which, incidentally, was not performed until 1769, in Salzburg. In 1768, however, before a private circle, his little comic opera (*Singspiel*), "*Bastien et Bastienne*," was performed; and on December 7, 1768, when only twelve, he personally conducted a performance of his "*Solemn Mass*." Soon after he was appointed *concertmeister* to the archbishop of Salzburg.

Then came the Italian triumphs: wherever he went the young *maestro* aroused enthusiasm. In Rome, the pope made him a knight of the Golden Spur. It is in that city that the anecdote respecting Allegri's "*Miserere*," sung every year during Holy Week in the Sistine Chapel, and whose copying was strictly forbidden, is localized; Mozart is said to have memorized it after a single hearing. In Naples, the public thought that Mozart owed his gifts to the virtues of a magic ring which he wore on his finger. Compelled to remove it, the little virtuoso showed himself none the less brilliant, and was given an ovation. In Milan (Mozart was then fourteen), he had an opera, "*Mitridate, re di Ponto*" performed (Christmas, 1770), which he repeated twenty times in succession with the greatest success. He then returned to Salzburg to write the oratorio "*La Betulia liberata*," once more visiting Milan to have his "*Ascanio in Alba*" performed. To celebrate the nomination of the new archbishop of Salzburg, he composed "*Il sogno di Scipione*" (1771), and at the end of the same year, his "*Lucio Silla*" was

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presented in Milan. In 1773 Mozart definitely bade Italy farewell; at the age of eighteen he already had written more than 200 works, none among them holding forth more than a promise of what was to come.

In 1775 Mozart wrote "*La finta Giardiniera*" for Munich, and soon after, for Salzburg, "*Il re pastore*." His father now wished to take him on a new tour; but the archbishop of Salzburg refused father and son leave of absence. Mozart was obliged to hand in his resignation and depart with his mother. He went to Munich, to Augsburg, and had an innocent love-affair with one of his cousins. He tested the new pianos by Stein, who admired his talent. "What seemed most to astonish him," wrote Mozart, "was the inflexible exactness of my time. He could not comprehend my conception of the *tempo rubato*, in which the freedom of the right hand in no wise affects the precision of the left hand." In Mannheim he profited by frequenting Cannabich, who taught him the symphonist's art; and fell in love with the singer Aloysia Weber, aged fifteen, whom he wished to marry. His father opposed the union in a letter full of common sense and overflowing with affection: "Alas, my child! what has become of those happy days, when at night, before going to bed, you climbed on my knee to sing me your little song? Then you would kiss the tip of my nose, saying that when I grew old, you would keep me near you, preciousy shut up in a box, with a globe above it to keep the dust from me. . . . It depends upon you to decide whether you wish to travel through the world like the first chance musician, or attain the limits of your art, and become one of those illustrious men whose works are studied and whose lives are written by posterity. A precipitous marriage will plunge you into abject poverty! . . ." Mozart, his heart brimming over, submitted and continued his voyage. He went to Paris where his ballet, "*les Petits riens*," was performed with success, together with the "*Symphonie Parisienne*" (1778), written for the *Concerts spirituels*. He studied French music, above all that of **Gluck** and **Grétry**, "the truth of whose diction and whose dramatic expressiveness" he admired. He imitated the style of **Schobert**, the composer of Silesian sonatas, established in Paris. Yet he

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did not care for the Parisians, whom he did not find sufficiently musical. Then young Mozart, so attached to his family, so impressionable, was severely tried: his mother died in Paris, July 3, 1788. He returned precipitately to Salzburg. On his way he encountered Aloysia Weber, who gave him an icy reception. Sadly he resumed his position as *concertmeister* to the archbishop of Salzburg, and was soon made his court organist.

Mozart now was no longer a child. He had served life's rude apprenticeship together with that of art. In 1781 the elector of Bavaria ordered an opera from him; he wrote "*Idomeneo*," which marks the transition from his youthful attempts to his coming masterworks. Soon after he was compelled to break with the archbishop of Salzburg, whose demands became insupportable, and established himself in Vienna. It was not until 1789 that he was destined to find a permanent position, as chamber composer to the imperial court. At least he found an opportunity of having an important work performed immediately. The Emperor Joseph II, who prided himself upon being a good musician (he sang barytone and played the clavecin and the 'cello), ordered Mozart to write a *Singspiel*, that is to say, a German comic opera. Mozart, in 1781, wrote "*Die Entführung aus dem Serail*" ("The Abduction from the Seraglio"), which the emperor dismissed with the following summary dictum: "Far too much for our ears, and far too many notes!" and thereafter took no interest in the young musician, too "learned" for his taste.

During the same year Mozart married Konstanze Weber, Aloysia's sister, an excellent singer and musician, but a deplorable housewife. From this time on Mozart's struggle against wretchedness was unceasing, and till the day of his death he never found a way out of his difficulties. His contemporaries, after having so liberally admired his prowess when an infant prodigy, denied his genius as soon as he reached maturity; they preferred to him a host of other untalented artists, and roused the indignation of worthy Haydn: "I am filled with anger," he wrote in 1787, "that this one and only Mozart has not as yet been attached to some imperial or royal court. Forgive me for

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growing so exasperated; it is because I am all too fond of the man!" Mozart's sole consolation was his profound love for Konstanze, whom he adored to the last day of his life as when first they had married. He gave lessons on the clavecin and in composition to make a little money. He wrote chamber-music. He took part in the meetings at which Ditters von Dittersdorf played first violin, Haydn second violin, he himself the viola, and Wanhal the 'cello; and every Sunday gave chamber-music performances, which amateurs paid to attend, in his own home. Finally, in 1785, he once more had a chance to write for the stage: in six weeks he composed "*Le Nozze di Figaro*," whose success was stifled in Vienna by a cabal, but which roused enthusiasm in Prague. A new opera was ordered from him for Prague—"Don Giovanni" (1787), which at first was successful when presented to its destined public, but was then very coldly received in Vienna. To the bitterness of this new setback with regard to the Viennese was added a great grief: Mozart lost his father.

In 1789 the office of chamber composer to the imperial court, which had become vacant upon the death of Gluck, was confided to Mozart; but his salary was reduced by Joseph II from 2,000 to 800 florins. "Too much," said Mozart, "for what I do do, too little for what I might do." He then made a brilliant but unproductive tour of Germany. Frederick William II wished to attach him to his court with a pension of 3,000 talers. It was the first real opportunity which fortune offered him; he refused it for love of his Austrian homeland, and contented himself with writing "*Così fan tutte*" (1790) for the king of Prussia.

During the same year Joseph II died. Leopold II, who succeeded him, did not care for music. Poor Mozart's wretchedness grew ever greater, day by day. His wife fell ill. Haydn went to London: "Ah, my dear Papa," said Mozart as he embraced him, "this kiss will be the last, we shall never see each other again!" The last of the unfortunate artist's life was overshadowed by all these sorrows. Nevertheless, for the coronation of Leopold II, in Prague, he wrote "*La Clemenza di Tito*" (September 6, 1791), and upon the request of Schikaneder, di-

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rector of the "fair" theatre *auf den Wiesen*, he composed a fairy opera "*Die Zauberflöte*" ("The Magic Flute"), which had over 200 performances.

This time popularity crowned his efforts. He received offers from every side. It was too late, however, He died, exhausted, on December 5, 1791, without having been able to complete his "*Requiem*."

Mozart's burial makes a heart-breaking tale. His wife, still ill, was obliged to keep her bed. The weather was terrible. A few friends had intended to accompany the body, but did not go all the way. It was cast into the potter's field. A few days later Konstanze Mozart sought in vain for the grave of the man she had so greatly loved.

Thus did this gentle soul, the soul of an affectionate and trustful child, a soul all tenderness and joy, take flight. In order to know Mozart one must read the delightful letters he wrote to all his family, and of which, by good fortune, so important a collection has been preserved. They reflect his imaginative spirit, his good, pure heart, his gay disposition. They presage the grace, charm, and delicate sensibility of his music; it might be more difficult to learn from them that Mozart was capable of the dramatic grandeur of which his "*Don Giovanni*" remains so imperishable a model.

Mozart wrote more than 600 works, and excelled in every form. His *symphonies*, his *sonatas*, his *quartets* have all the solidity and ingenuity of Haydn's, and in addition offer the attraction born of an expressiveness far more varied, more richly psychological,* and of an ease and happiness of invention which make Mozart the leading improvisator of all time. Inspiration did not come to him as a result of impassioned research, after a struggle of will and intelligence with nature; it did not manifest itself in a state of superexcitation or of violence; it seemed, on the contrary, to be his normal state, his condition of balance, and its tranquil source was truly inexhaustible. No doubt his production was unequal, and Mozart's 600 works are not 600 masterpieces. The amount of waste is considerable even. Yet the number of times Mozart attains perfec-

* Mozart is never descriptive.

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tion, none the less, exceeds all that other composers might have produced in the same period of duration, or even in the course of an extended life span. Mozart is the miracle in the history of music!

From the view-point of the evolution of musical form, Mozart was a great innovator. He was not afraid of putting his public to rout. A perusal of the critics of his day is very interesting in this respect. The "*Symphony in G minor*," for instance, seemed very advanced, very bold. Later, when Beethoven's "*Eroica Symphony*" became known, it was compared to Mozart's "*G minor Symphony*," and adjudged "still more difficult." The "*Entführung aus dem Serail*" "roused astonishment owing to the novelty of its harmonies, and an originality of instrumentation hitherto unknown." The "*Sonata in F*" for piano; the six quartets dedicated to Haydn, and the three quartets dedicated to the king of Prussia, introduced the first specimens of a new art, at once polyphonic and monodic, scholarly and fancy-free, vital yet "built up," which, as it developed, was to become that of Beethoven, Wagner, and César Franck.

Yet above all we must insist upon Mozart's importance as the founder of the *German opera*. Until his day, the musical stage in Germany had known nothing better than servile imitation of the Italians.* An exception must be made in the case of the composer **Hiller** (1728-1804), who created in Leipsic the equivalent of the Italian buffa opera and the French comic opera, by raising the folkwise *Singspiel* to the dignity of an art-type. The *Singspiel* was the opera of the people, and of the lower middle classes, who had not accepted Italian opera. In the pieces which Hiller wrote, from 1765 to 1777, the first in chronological order is "*Der Teufel ist los*" ("There's the

* One of the original forms of the German musical stage was the "melodrama." In 1772, in Weimar, a translation of J.-J. Rousseau's "*Pygmalion*" was performed, with accompaniment of music by ANTON SCHWEITZER. Then came Johann Christian Brandes's "*Ariadne auf Naxos*," music by GEORG BENDA (1722-1795), the first performance of which took place in Gotha, in 1775. Finally, there was Gotter's "*Medea*," to BENDA's music (Leipsic, 1775). Mozart was roused to enthusiasm by the "*Ariadne*" and the "*Medea*."

Devil to Pay," 1765), he makes burghers, valets, and peasants sing the popular *lieder*, reserving the *arias* for the lords and gentlemen. The use of these *lieds* betrayed a frankly nationalist tendency. **Reichardt** (1752-1814), followed Hiller's example as, at the same time, did **Christian Gottlob Neefe** (1748-1798), and **Johann André** (1741-1799). Finally Mozart, at once lending the new genus a more lofty character, wrote the "*Entführung aus dem Serail*" and "*Die Zauberflöte*." (We should recall the *Papageno* songs; they are *lieder*, as are even those of *Figaro* and *Guglielmo* in the "*Nozze di Figaro*" and "*Così fan tutte*," notwithstanding these are Italian operas.)

In his stage music Mozart is also German in the importance he assigns the symphony; he not only considers the *melody*, as the Italians do, or *declamation*, like Gluck and the Frenchmen; before all, he wishes to do his duty as a musician, he wants "poetry to be the obedient daughter of music"; yet he finds means to reconcile all without sacrificing melody nor declamation. His conception is a synthesis of perfect balance.

Besides, he abandons the antique subject and the tragedy. In fact, he either selects his characters from actual life, familiar to him ("*Figaro*") or else he transports us to the domain of the fantastic ("*Don Giovanni*," "*Die Zauberflöte*"). It is then that he flings wide the portals of romanticism, and directly presages Weber and Richard Wagner.

* * *

Around Haydn and Mozart cluster a host of composers, esteemed in their own time, whose names to-day are forgotten. We will mention some among them: **Karl Ditters von Dittersdorf** (1739-1799), who wrote chamber-music and operas; **Ignatz Pleyel** (1757-1831), a vapid imitator of the great masters; **Maximilian Stadler** (1748-1833), organist and church composer; **Georg Josef Vogler** (1746-1814), who taught Weber and Meyerbeer composition; the **Rombergs**, in Hamburg; **Daniel Steibelt** (1763-1823); and the brilliant piano virtuoso, **Friedrich Wilhelm Rust** (1739-1796), who, in certain respects, by certain novel turns of style, by his dramatic accent and his romantic trend, might pass for a precursor of Beethoven.

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We must also call attention to two men who played a considerable part in the history of piano music: they are the creators of *the piano style* as opposed to *the clavecin style*, **Schobert**, of Silesian origin, a Frenchman by adoption and established in Paris; and, above all, the Italian **Muzio Clementi** (1752-1832). Both influenced Mozart, and the second heralds Beethoven in his orchestral manner of writing for the piano, as well as in his poetic instinct and impassioned movement, and the real grandeur of certain among his inspirations. Clementi is not merely the composer of the all-too-famous "sonatinas." His justly reputed "*Gradus ad Parnassum*" should be known in first instance, and also and principally his "*Grandes Sonates*," some of which, no doubt, are reductions of symphonies that have been lost.

With Haydn and Mozart the classic age comes to an end well-nigh at the same time that it begins. Beethoven, in truth, is only classic, properly speaking, in his early works. Later he develops, he writes freely, and his genius subordinates the ideal of purity, sobriety, and serenity which had been that of his masters and his models, to the imperious exigencies of his own impetuous nature, which desires, before all else, to express itself without let or hindrance.

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CHAPTER XIII

BEETHOVEN

“Wohlthuen, wo man kann,
Freiheit über alles lieben,
Wahrheit nie, auch sogar am
Throne, nicht verleugnen.”

“To do all the good possible, love liberty above everything, and never deny truth, even before a throne.” Thus Beethoven summed up himself on a sketch-book page, in 1792.

He was small and thick-set, with a brick-red complexion, a powerful and protruding brow, grayish-blue eyes so deep that they seemed black, a short, square nose, a leonine lower face with tremendous jaw-bones, a crooked chin. His smile was kind, his laugh menacing, his nature melancholy. One of his contemporaries mentions “his kind eyes and their poignant sorrow.” While improvising he seemed transfigured: “The muscles of his face stood out, his veins swelled, his mouth trembled.” He has been called a Shakesperian figure, a *King Lear*!

Ludwig van Beethoven was born December 16, 1770, in Bonn, near Cologne. His grandfather had been born in Antwerp, and had settled in Bonn at the age of twenty, there to become the choirmaster of the elector of Cologne. His father was a tenor in the choir; a drunkard and an imbecile who, stupidly eager to exploit his son's precocious talent, tried to kill him with work. Any other than the little Beethoven would have become disgusted with music. The family lived wretchedly, and led a deplorable existence. When eleven, Ludwig played in the orchestra of the local theatre; and at thirteen he turned organist and published three sonatas. When nearly twenty, Beethoven was fortunate enough to come across a very good teacher in Bonn, **Neeffe**, born in Chemnitz, in 1748, who made him study **Johann Sebastian Bach's** *Well-Tempered Clavichord* as well as

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Karl Philipp Emanuel Bach's and **Muzio Clementi's** *sonatas*. It was under the influence of these composers that Beethoven's style began to develop.

In 1787 he left for Vienna, where he saw Mozart. His mother's death, however, a cause of deep grief to him, almost immediately recalled him to Bonn, where he was obliged to provide for the support of his family. This proved a heavy burden. Compelled to struggle against his father's spendthrift habits, he found a measure of consolation in his relations with the Breuning family. Elenore (*Lorchen*) Breuning, two years younger than himself, was his pupil. He felt for her a sentiment of tenderness which turned to enduring friendship when later she married her good Dr. Wegeler. Beethoven, too, already found his griefs alleviated by his impressions of nature in the countryside. He never forgot the umbrageous, flowering walks of Bonn, nor the majestic current of *unser Vater Rhein* ("Our Father Rhine").

In 1792 Beethoven was sent to Vienna by the elector to pursue his musical studies; it was to become his permanent place of abode. There he chose for his teachers *Haydn*, *Albrechtsberger*, and *Salieri*. A few years later he jots down in his sketch-book: "Courage! Despite all my bodily weaknesses, my genius shall triumph! . . . Twenty-five years! They have come to me, they are mine! . . . This very year the man within me must reveal himself completely!" At that time he already had written, aside from a number of insignificant sketches, the *three trios*, for piano, violin, and 'cello, op. 1 (among them the fine *trio in C minor*, which Haydn advised him not to publish); *three sonatas* for piano, op. 2; a *string quartet*, op. 4; *two sonatas* for piano and 'cello, op. 5; and had composed the "*Grand Sonata*," op. 7, for piano, with its poignant *largo*. His budding genius already was the admiration of connoisseurs, and Viennese high society gave him a warm welcome. Yet he did not disclose himself to the general public until April 2, 1800, at a concert whose programme has been preserved: (1) *Symphony*, by Mozart. (2) *Air* from "*The Creation*," by Haydn. (3) *Grand Concerto* for the piano, by Beethoven. (4) *Septet*, by Beethoven. (5) *Duet* from "*The Creation*," by Haydn. (6)

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Improvisation, by Beethoven, on Haydn's "*Emperor's Hymn*."
(7) *Symphony no. 1*, by Beethoven. Its success was marked.

This collection of works whose titles we enumerate gives an idea of what might be called Beethoven's **first style**.

The concept of Beethoven's **three styles** is one which has been much criticised as presented, in a manner quite absolute and all too inexact, by W. de Lenz, in 1855. It is, in fact, quite certain that Beethoven did not abruptly change his style at two fixed periods. The development of his genius was uninterrupted, and from the first works even the last might be deduced in view of certain accents, certain rhythms, and certain melodic turns: Beethoven is always Beethoven. Nevertheless, it is evident as well that no musician has undergone a greater evolution, has more constantly renewed himself. Consequently, it seems permissible, without defining lines of demarcation in his works, to point out the principal stations in this development of his genius. Who can deny the evidence of profound difference in style between the "*Septet*" and the "*Eroica Symphony*," or that the "*Mass in D*" and the "*Fifteenth Quartet*" fall into different classes?

Hence, if we are to accept Beethoven's "*Symphony in C major*" or his "*Septet*," or, perhaps, the *first six string Quartets*, op. 18, composed in 1799-1800, as typical of his **first style**, the latter may be defined in the following terms: Beethoven still respects the traditions of Haydn and Mozart; he does not venture to liberate himself from them. He writes music which is above all worldly, brilliant; he shows a desire to please, or, rather, to allow himself to be carried away by the current belief that his art was purely an art meant to amuse. Besides this, in certain compositions of the same period, especially in his sonatas for piano solo, op. 10, no. 1 and no. 3, we already discover the great Beethoven, serious, profound, disdainful of the world, writing only for himself, and yielding without restraint to the dictates of his imperious character, his tortured nature, and his fantastic imagination.

In any case, even though the subject-matter of these first works is quite novel in quality, their forms remain quite traditional. Beethoven here encompasses his most daring thoughts

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within the framework respected by Haydn and Mozart. His first sonatas and his first symphonies are constructed on the classic model. Beethoven's one innovation—an important one—consists in replacing the serious dance, the *menuet*, by a rapid *scherzo* in which the composer's temperament is able to express itself with greater freedom. These Beethovenian *scherzos* have an overflowing gaiety, a joy often furious, which the strictly measured art of his predecessors would have disavowed.

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In 1800, after his first great success, a less promising future seemed to open up for Beethoven. During the past three or four years a terrible anguish had ceaselessly tormented the composer. Beethoven had noticed that he was growing deaf. At first he did not breathe a word of this discovery to any one. In 1801 he could no longer contain himself, but wrote to his two friends, Dr. Wegeler and Pastor Amenda: he was profoundly unhappy, and cursed his existence. "I shall," he added, "dare my fate; yet there are times in my life when I am the most wretched of God's creatures!" In this connection it is easy to understand the poignant sadness of certain *adagios* in the earlier piano sonatas.

Beethoven also experienced other cruel sufferings. Wegeler said that he never knew Beethoven when the latter's heart was not filled with some great love; and all his loves were unhappy ones. He passed through alternatives of hope and despair, of enthusiasm and revolt which, no doubt, were the source of some of his finest inspirations. In 1801, Beethoven was in love with Giulietta Guicciardi. To her he dedicated the composition known as the "*Moonlight*" sonata, op. 27 (1802). He wrote to Wegeler: "I live in a more amiable manner, and mingle more freely with men; this change has been brought about through the charm of a girl dear to me; she loves me and I love her. These are the first happy moments I have known for two years." Yet soon this love was to cause him suffering. He was, in first instance, humiliated by his realization of the difference in social station which separated him from his adored. And, besides, Giulietta, coquettish, childish, and egotistical, in no wise

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understood Beethoven's lofty soul. In 1803 she married the Count von Gallenberg.

This called forth a moment of despair such as we never encounter again in the course of Beethoven's life. He thought of suicide. He wrote the famous *Heiligenstadt Testament*, in which he cries out in his suffering to men, to nature, to God. And yet, he finds himself once more. His powerful nature could not abandon the struggle. To Wegeler he wrote: "My youth, yes, I know it is only beginning. Each day brings me nearer a goal which I behold without being able to define. . . . I would like to seize Fate by the throat. She shall not succeed in altogether casting me down!" These alternatives of despair and confidence find their echo in the piano sonatas, op. 27, no. 1 and no. 2 (*quasi una fantasia*); op. 28 (*pastorale*); op. 31, nos. 1, 2, 3. It is the piano to which he preferably confides his most intimate thoughts. It is at this time, too, that he writes the "*Sonata in C minor*" and the "*Kreutzer Sonata*," for violin and piano; and his *religious songs*. Above all, in the "*Second Symphony*" (1803), we may notice how he has definitely come forth a victor in the crisis, and that his wish to love and to enjoy is again all-powerful.

This "*Second Symphony*" to us does not seem to depart very far from those of Mozart and Haydn. It is hard to see wherein it is, as yet, very Beethovenian. Still, if we read the critics of his day this is easier to understand. A Leipsic journalist finds "the ensemble too long"; he blames "the use of all the wind instruments," and adjudges the *finale* "extremely odd, savage, and harsh." He adds, however, "all this is so carried along by the puissant, fiery spirit which breathes in this colossal composition that with its wealth of new ideas and their absolutely original arrangement, one ventures to predict that this work will last, and will ever be heard with new pleasure when a thousand others now the fashion have long since disappeared."

In all the works of this epoch we meet with the rhythms of march and combat; for example, in the *allegro* and the *finale* of the "*Second Symphony*," in the *allegro* of the "*Sonata in C minor*," for violin and piano (second theme). This martial music was inspired by the events. The revolution came to

Vienna. "Beethoven," said Schindler to one of his confidants, "cherished republican principles. . . . He was a partisan of illimitable freedom and national independence. . . . He wished all to have their part in the government of the state. . . . He desired universal suffrage for France, hoped that Bonaparte would establish it, and establishing it lay the foundation for the happiness of the human race." These ideas occupied him to such a degree that he wrote a new symphony, "*Bonaparte*" (1802-1804). When he had finished it he learned of Napoleon's coronation. "He was only an ordinary man!" he cried, and tearing up the original dedication, he wrote in a new title: "*Sinfonia eroica composta per festeggiare il sovvenire di un grand uomo*" ("Heroic Symphony to Celebrate the Memory of a Great Man").

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In writing this "*Third Symphony*," Beethoven, on this occasion, broke completely with the traditions of Haydn and Mozart: first as regards the whole tone of his work, altogether in harmony with the sentiments of the revolutionary epoch, and also in his processes of development and general construction. "In truth," said a critic, "this new work by Beethoven contains grand and daring ideas, such as might be expected of the composer's puissant genius, and great power of expression. Yet this symphony would gain infinitely (it lasts a whole hour), if Beethoven could bring himself to make some cuts, and give its ensemble greater light, greater clearness, greater unity. . . . Thus, there is a funeral march in *C minor*, in place of the *andante*, which goes on in fugal form; this fugue, however, contrary to the order usually observed, loses itself in veritable confusion; and even after several hearings, eludes the most sustained attention, so that the connoisseur who has not been informed of the fact is startled. . . ."

It is with the "*Eroica Symphony*" that Beethoven's **second style** definitely outlines itself. The public now finds him difficult to follow. Even the artists hesitate. The violinist Shupanzigh, deciphering the "*Seventh Quartet*" (in F), stops at the end of a few measures and bursts out laughing, thinking him-

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self the victim of a joke. This was owing to the fact that Beethoven had invented a *new architecture*, often disconcerting, either by reason of its *colossal proportions*, its *violent contrasts*, or its *clashing oppositions*, the roughness and bluntness it exhibited. He no longer knows how to be worldly, serious, or joyous; he is always *sincere* and *profound*. His romanticism becomes pronounced. Nevertheless, his wish to translate his emotions in all their intensity, all their violence or disorder, does not go so far as to make him heedless of *proportion*, of *balance*; he only sacrifices the *externals of form*.

Hence, after the first performances of the "*Eroica Symphony*," Beethoven begins to write "*Fidelio*." On the 1 Ventose of the Year VI, there had been a melodrama by Bouilly, "*Léonore ou l'Amour conjugal*," the music by Gaveaux, performed in Paris. Paër had written an opera on the same theme for the Viennese, and Beethoven was present at one of the performances. Seated beside the composer he did not cease to admire. Paër was delighted when, suddenly, his neighbor cried: "Ah, my dear friend! I must absolutely set your opera to music!" The book pleased him especially because of its morality; the virtuous Beethoven, who had reproached Mozart for writing a "*Don Giovanni*," was overjoyed at the prospect of singing the praise of *wedded love*. Such, in effect, was the subject of the piece. *Florestan* is unjustly detained in a prison cell, where starvation threatens him. His wife, *Léonore*, disguises herself as a man, and is taken on as the jailer's assistant. She arrives in time to save her husband, and obtain the condemnation of the governor of the prison, *Pizarro*, guilty of the crimes of which *Florestan* is accused. Unfortunately, this touching story was very awkwardly presented, in a deplorable manner, without talent or taste. "*Fidelio*" was performed November 20, 1805, the pit of the theatre being filled with French officers (Napoleon had entered Vienna on November 15). Beethoven's opera was coldly received; in truth neither circumstances nor the public were favorable; the press was most unkind, and the performances came to an end the third evening. On March 29, 1806, "*Fidelio*" reappeared, its three acts contracted into two, and preceded by a new overture (no. 3), which is certainly the finest

of all. It registered a second failure. The press, however, was kinder, and condemned the book in particular. In 1814 "*Fidelio*," its words and music completely overhauled, finally achieved an enduring success.

The failure of "*Fidelio*" had affected Beethoven. During the spring of 1806, he stayed near Troppau, with his friends the Brunswicks, and regained courage. At the time he was writing his "*Symphony in C minor*." Suddenly he interrupted himself, and, at a single cast, without making the usual sketches, he wrote the "*Fourth Symphony*," overflowing with joy, with tenderness, and with hope.

This was because happiness had once more shown him her face. In May, 1806, Therese von Brunswick had become his betrothed. "One Sunday evening, by moonlight," Therese herself said long afterward, "Beethoven was seated at the piano. At first his hands, lying flat on the keys, groped over the keyboard. Franz (her brother) and I were used to this. He invariably began to extemporize in this manner. Then he struck several bass notes and, with mysterious solemnity, he played a song by Johann Sebastian Bach, 'If you would give me your heart, then give it to me in secret; let our thought in common be that none other shall divine it.' My mother and the clergyman had fallen asleep; my brother was looking seriously before him; and I, penetrated by his song and his glance, sensed the very plenitude of life." The "*Symphony in B flat major*" reflects this hour of tranquil tenderness and trustful joy. Beethoven shows himself conciliatory; he returns to tradition. This is the idea emphasized by the portrait which Maehler painted at this period, one of studied elegance. It was the happiest moment of his life, and also the epoch at which he wrote some of his most perfect works. The "*Appassionata*" (1807), is dedicated to Therese's brother; and the "*Sonata*," op. 78 (1809), to Therese herself. The "*Symphony in C minor*" and the "*Pastoral Symphony*" date from 1808. "My ideas hasten toward you, O my immortal well-beloved! (*meine unsterbliche Geliebte*), at times joyous, then again sad, questioning destiny, demanding whether our prayers will be heard!" cried Beethoven to Therese. The hoped-for union never came to

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pass. To their last day Therese and Beethoven remained true to one another: "When thinking of her," said Beethoven in 1816, "my heart beats as hotly as on the day when first I saw her"; and that same year he wrote the beautiful cycle of melodies, "*To the Distant Beloved*" ("*An die ferne Geliebte*"), op. 98.*

The "*Symphony in C minor*" is the one most frequently played in France; it is the most popular and in some respects the most characteristic among all Beethoven's symphonies; it discloses some of the most striking traits of his genius. At the beginning appears the celebrated *theme of fate knocking at the door*, to use Beethoven's own expression, on which is built up a first movement which is a perfect example of regular development in the sonata form, powerful and concise. Now follows an *andante* alternately melancholy and martial, and after it the fantastic *scherzo*, with its trio like a dance of giants, and the marvellous section connecting it with the *finale*; then, finally, the *finale* itself, like a colossal chant of triumph. The "*Symphony in C minor*" was played at the same time as the "*Pastoral Symphony*," a "*Concerto*" and a "*Choral Fantasie*," on December 22, 1808. It was in the midst of the "*Fantasy*" that Beethoven, seated at the piano, and dissatisfied with the performance, interrupted the players in the middle of the concert, and made them begin again: "*Noch einmal!*" he cried, without any ceremony. The "*Symphony in C minor*" scored a success; but Beethoven was subjected to the criticisms already familiar to him. In the same way, later, when the symphony was played at the Paris Conservatoire, the *finale* was adjudged too long, the opening of the initial *allegro* not sufficiently classic, and the *andante monotonous*.

In his symphonies Beethoven tells his own life tale; he narrates his enthusiasm for Napoleon Bonaparte and the Revolution; or else the happiness love gives him, or his victory over fate. Naturally, he was obliged to consecrate one symphony to Nature, which he so greatly loved. This was the *sixth*, the

* This represents an interpretation, open to discussion, perhaps, of the documents available. Certain historians declare that "the immortal well-beloved" was Giulietta Guicciardi, and not Therese von Brunswick.

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"*Pastoral Symphony*"; and it enables us to estimate the whole distance separating the art of a Rameau or a Haydn from that of which Beethoven gave the first example. Here, where the majority of eighteenth-century musicians could only have written descriptive pieces—translated as well as they were able Nature's external phenomena by analogies of sound—Beethoven retired into himself, and these are his own impressions when confronted with Nature which he discloses to us, rather than any imitation of Nature herself. It is true that Beethoven seems to have affirmed the contrary when, walking with a friend in the country around Heiligenstadt, he said to him: "It was here that I wrote the scene on the banks of the stream, and, above, *the orioles, the quails, the nightingales and the cuckoos composed it together with me!*"

One might also cite the peasant's dance in the *scherzo*, taken from life, with the wrong-note basses, or the storm which scored such a success at the first Paris performances, and contend that the "*Pastoral Symphony*" is, before all else, pictorial music. Yet it must honestly be confessed that the cuckoo, the oriole, the quail, and the nightingale play only a secondary part in the work as a whole, or, rather, one might say that if the sound of the stream and the song of the birds have furnished certain elements in the symphony, these elements are not presented as of interest in themselves, but merely serve as material for marvellous polyphonic labors, and to accompany the most admirable and most expressive melodies which have ever been drawn from a musician's heart. It is for this reason that Beethoven wrote at the top of the first violin part the following important note: "*Mehr Ausdruck der Empfindung als Malerei*" ("Rather an expression of sentiment than painting"). The work is the point of departure of a new orientation in the musical interpretation of nature. Since Beethoven it has been possible to turn the musical landscape into a "state of soul."

In May, 1810, Beethoven definitely gave up all hope of a union with Therese von Brunswick. Once more he stands alone. Yet this time he glories in his confidence in his invincible genius: "No emperor, no king was so conscious of his power," said Bettina Brentano, Goethe's celebrated friend. Beethoven

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made her acquaintance, in fact, at this time. "When I saw him for the first time," wrote Bettina, "the whole universe vanished from my sight! Beethoven made me forget the world, and even yourself, my Goethe! . . . I do not think myself mistaken when I affirm that this man is far in advance of modern civilization." It was on the occasion of this first meeting that Beethoven sang before Bettina his admirable song, "*Trocknet nicht*." Goethe wished to know him. They did, in fact, meet each other in 1812, at the baths in Töplitz, in Bohemia, in the midst of a brilliant society made up of princes, literary men, and artists. Neither understood the other.

It was at Töplitz that Beethoven wrote his seventh and eighth symphonies. The "*Seventh Symphony*," to quote Wagner, is the poem of the dance. Beethoven shows himself altogether "unbuttoned" (*aufgeknöpft*) in it. In North Germany it was called a drunkard's work. Weber judged it severely. In this savage gaiety of Beethoven's we rediscover his Flemish ancestors. "I am," so he said, "the Bacchus who brews the delicious nectar for humanity. It is I who grant men the divine frenzy of the soul!" The first and last movements of the Seventh Symphony long astonished the crowds. Yet the *allegretto* at once won a decided success. In Paris it was played in the middle of the "*Symphony in D*," instead of the *larghetto*.

The "*Eighth Symphony*" is that of *humor* and *fantasy*. The giant gives himself up in all innocence to childhood games, and from time to time recalls his passion and his power to memory by some cry or gesture. Beethoven amuses himself by building up his *allegretto* on the regular tic-toc of Maelzel's metronome, and there he is all smiles; but in the *finale*, in the midst of a diabolic round, there is a periodic recurrence of the famous C sharp, "the note of terror" (*Schreckensnote*), which seems like the sudden access of a rage divine, or a force inconscient before which the whole world trembles. For a long time the "*Eighth Symphony*" was regarded as an amusing trifle, lacking importance; it was known as the "little symphony." Wagner, more than any one else, has contributed to restore it to its rightful place beside its sister symphony, the seventh.

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The year 1814 marks the culminating point of Beethoven's glory. At the Congress of Vienna he receives the homage of the princes of Europe; he compels royal treatment; he is, officially, *the* musician.

* * *

Yet now come the extremes of care and wretchedness: in the first place *material wretchedness*. During the last years of his life Beethoven suffered uninterruptedly from want of money. Long before he had endeavored to obtain a permanent situation. In 1808 he had even thought of leaving Vienna to accept the offer of Jerome Bonaparte, king of Westphalia. His friends held him back, in particular three of the wealthiest magnates of Austria: his pupil, the Archduke Rudolf, Prince Lobkowitz, and Prince Kinsky, promising to pay him an annual pension of 4,000 florins if he would consent to stay in Vienna. Unfortunately, this pension was not very regularly paid. Prince Kinsky died in 1812, and Beethoven was obliged to bring suit against his heirs, winning his case in 1814; yet during the progress of the legal proceedings he had been unable to touch the 1,800 florins which represented Kinsky's personal contribution. Lobkowitz, always irregular in his payments, died in 1818, and this portion of the pension (700 florins) Beethoven lost for good and all. In 1818 he wrote: "I am nearly reduced to beggary, yet I am obliged to act as though I want for nothing." Again he says: "My Sonata Op. 106 was written under the most pressing conditions. It is hard to work for one's bread!" Spohr declares that often he could not go out because the only shoes he had were full of holes.* His works brought him nothing. But seven subscriptions came in for his "*Mass in D*." He received only 300 to 400 ducats for a sonata. Prince Galitzin ordered three quartets from him and never paid for them. And Beethoven wasted his time and his energies in a minute regulation of his expenses and quarrelled with his cook.

* TRANS. NOTE.—Modern research has proved that Beethoven did not belong to the absolutely destitute musicians. He left savings amounting to 6,000 Taler, and his publishers paid him honorariums nearly two-thirds larger than ordinary.

On the other hand, Beethoven fell into a state of great *musical wretchedness*. He had lost his old friends; and though he had made new ones, held them in less affection. In 1816 he wrote: "I have no friends and am alone in the world." The public began to detach itself from him. Vienna was once more invaded by Italianism. An opinion current in Vienna salons has been handed down to us: "Mozart and Beethoven are old pedants; the stupidity of the age just past took pleasure in them; though only since Rossini's time do we know what melody really is. '*Fidelio*' is mere filth; how can one take the trouble to go and listen to it?" Beethoven's deafness had become absolute; he could no longer communicate with his fellow-beings save by writing. His conversation copybooks have been preserved. The oldest dates from 1816, and forms a manuscript of more than 11,000 pages (*Königliche Bibliothek*, Berlin). When "*Fidelio*" was revived in 1822, Beethoven wished to conduct the dress rehearsal. "From the duo in the first act," says Schindler, "it was evident he heard nothing that passed on the stage. He retarded the movement considerably and, while the orchestra followed his baton, the singers for their part, hurried. General confusion ensued. The regular orchestra leader, Umlauf, suggested a moment of rest, without giving any reason, and after a few words had been exchanged with the singers, a fresh start was made. Again the same disorder ensued. A second pause had to be made. The impossibility of going on under Beethoven's leadership was plain; yet how was he to be apprised of the fact? None had the heart to say to him: 'Withdraw, you poor unfortunate, you cannot conduct!' Beethoven, disquieted, agitated, turning to left and to right, endeavored to read the expression of the various faces, to understand wherein lay the obstacle; silence reigned on every side. Suddenly he called me to him in an imperious manner. When I drew near, he handed me his copybook and signed for me to write; I traced the following words: 'I beg of you not to go on. I will explain why at home.' With one bound he leaped into the pit, crying: 'Let us get out quickly!' He ran without stopping until he reached the house, entered, and fell motionless upon a couch, covering his face with his hands. He had

been stricken to the heart, and to the day of his death he never forgot the impression left by this terrible scene."

He took refuge in Nature. "No one on earth can love the country as much as I do," he said. "I am fonder of a tree than of a man!"

Serious *family troubles* put the finishing touch to Beethoven's torments. On November 14, 1815, his brother Karl had died at the age of forty-one, leaving an eight-year-old son. The widow was a woman of whom little good could be said. Beethoven undertook to dispute with her the possession of little Karl, whom he wished to adopt. He instituted proceedings, which ended to his advantage; but not until 1820. This nephew, to whom he thenceforth meant to devote himself, was a sorry soul; the best he could do was to cause his uncle ceaseless chagrin. He himself said: "I have grown worse because my uncle wished me to become better." In the summer of 1826, after a thousand follies, he shot himself with a pistol, but did not die. Beethoven, however, came near dying in consequence. Schindler tells us that he suddenly seemed like an old man of seventy, broken, without strength, without will. He was to succumb a few months later.

His health, incidentally, had become very poor since 1816. During the winter of 1816-1817 he suffered an attack of bronchitis which kept him in bed for a long time. It left him with a chronic catarrh. In 1821 he had the jaundice, and in 1825 a serious inflammation of the bowels, from which he never completely recovered.

In the midst of these worries, cares, and chagrins, it is clear that Beethoven could compose but little: his enemies claimed that he had written himself out. He underwent, in fact, a period of profound discouragement. Yet, little by little, by a sublime effort, he once more took up his artistic task with fresh spirit, with new inspiration. He is no longer the haughty Beethoven, conscious of the all-embracing power of his genius, marching to the conquest of the universe, proud of imposing his musical thought on all, and making himself respected by the great as well as by the humble of this earth. He is now the Beethoven definitely withdrawn from the world, turned inward

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upon himself, no longer seeking success of any kind, cultivating his art with indifference to the approbation of others, wholly enveloped in his suffering and his wretchedness; yet resigned, smiling, imbued with a melancholy void of rebellion and, at times, by a prodigious effort of will, rising to summits of the serenest joy.

This complete renascence is heralded, toward 1812, immediately after the "*Seventh*" and the "*Eighth Symphonies*," by the "*Sonata, op. 96*," for violin and piano. What a contrast it offers to these two symphonies, so refulgently sonorous, so joyful, so triumphant! From 1812 to 1815 Beethoven writes but one important work, the "*Sonata*" for piano, op. 90 (1814), a charming but very brief composition; in which he seems to return to his previous manner. It is dedicated to Count Lichnowsky, who, despite the opposition of his family, had married an actress. Beethoven entitled the first movement: "*Kampf zwischen Kopf und Herz*" ("The Combat between Head and Heart"); and the second: "*Conversation mit der Geliebten*" ("A Talk with the Beloved"). As in the "*Appassionata*," as in the "*Adieux*," "*Absence and Return*," as in the majority of Beethoven's works, a poetic idea, a situation, a sentiment, offer inspiration her point of departure. Their music is less and less a purely formal art; it assumes an ever greater human significance. Besides this, Beethoven arranged *Scotch and Irish songs* for a London music publisher, and wrote a few occasional pieces for official ceremonies: "*The Battle of Vittoria*," "*The Glorious Moment*," etc., which must be ranked among his most mediocre productions. It was evident that a process of inward toil was preparing the superb blossoming of masterworks the unexpectedness of whose style and the novelty of whose accent would constitute his **third manner**.

At this moment Beethoven discovers that "he still has done all too little for art." He disdains his first productions (his "*Septet*," his "*Quintet*" for piano and wind instruments), and wishes to rise far above the works of his maturity. Tentative offers are made him to induce him to write works in his former style; he repulses them with indignation. "This is the autumn of my life," he said, "I should like to resemble those fruitful

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trees which it suffices to shake in order to cause ripened and savory fruit to rain down."

His solicitude for the architectural factor from now on takes second place in his thoughts. At any rate, he abandons the all-too-regular symmetries of the classic architecture. He seeks a form more supple, more complex, and more varied, a form which agrees more readily with the exigencies of expression.

This independence with regard to tradition first shows itself in the construction of the *melodic themes* themselves. It happens rarely, yet the fact, nevertheless, should be mentioned, that Beethoven gives up the *foursquare*, for example in his "*Sixth Bagatelle*," op. 126, whose theme comprises fifteen measures ($6+6+3$); and in the *adagio* of the *Sonata* for piano, op. 106, whose initial melody comprises twenty-five measures.

Without giving up the foursquare symmetry, however, Beethoven at times hides it by intercalating between the sections of the melodic phrase answers which form a parenthesis, and which interrupt the rhythmic continuity of the eight or sixteen measures; for example, in the *adagio* of the "*Ninth Symphony*" and the *adagio* of the "*Fifteenth String Quartet*."

Another characteristic of the classic melody was the *closing cadence* which terminated it, which brought its outline to an end in the most categoric fashion. It was a point at the end of the line. The auditor could not be deceived. The return to the initial key was indicated by stereotype formulas which left no doubt in the mind. Now, Beethoven often avoids these cadences in order to lend his thought a more evasive form, to leave us in suspense, and better link our various impressions. Beethoven has already set foot on the path which Wagner terms "that of infinite melody." It is interesting, in this connection, to study the *adagio* of the "*Sonata, op. 106*," for piano, and the *adagio* of the "*Ninth Symphony*."

With regard to the *general construction* of the sonata or the symphony, Beethoven no longer contents himself with suppressing one or another of the constituent parts of the genus, as in the works of his second style. He reserves the customary order of the movements or else, especially, he introduces into sonata and symphony forms of composition which hitherto had

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been excluded from them. It is thus in the "*Sonata*," op. 101, a march appears to take the place of a *scherzo*. In three out of five of the last sonatas, the *fugue* or the *fugato* style intervenes with quite special importance.

The *fugue* had been entirely banished from the classic sonata. Since Johann Sebastian Bach's time the fugue had been dead, or nearly so, until Beethoven resurrected it. He always gives it dramatic interest. This he uses as a contrast to the languishing character of a slow melody. To him the fugue means a thought which maintains itself, which is solidly built, the will which affirms, the action which constructs, the awakening of energy. He opposes it to the contemplative character, the yielding revery of certain melodic themes which drag along without movement, and betray a weakening of the will, an abandonment of the struggle, despair. This use of the fugue is especially significant in the *Sonatas*, op. 106 and op. 110.

Besides the severe style of the fugue, we encounter, in the *Sonatas* for piano and in the "*Ninth Symphony*," pages of pure instrumental recitative, having the character of a kind of improvised declamation. These recitatives accentuate the dramatic character of the works in which the composer explains himself, in which he reveals the tragedy of his inner life.

Finally Beethoven created a species of development which is known as the *grand variation*, and which is admirably suited to his plan of rejecting every restraint, of writing with absolute freedom. The *classic variation* consisted in embroidering a theme with all sorts of ornaments, beneath whose embellishment the initial motive was always easily recognized. In the *grand variation*, on the contrary, the theme was subjected to so many transformations that it became well-nigh unrecognizable. At times the melodic line is preserved, but the rhythm profoundly modified. At others a fragment of melody serves as a point of departure for a new inspiration. Sometimes a single rhythmic element of the theme, or even its harmonic thread without its melodic tissue, is used as a subtle link to bind the initial motive to the ceaselessly renewed improvisations which it occasions. The composer seems to wish to exhaust every association of musical ideas which might present itself to his mind with re-

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gard to a suggested subject. It is here that a profound sense of analogy and contrast may be exercised in the most unpremeditated and most harmonious manner.

These are the principal novelties which we encounter in the works in Beethoven's *last style*. How far have we travelled by this time from the sonata of Haydn or Mozart! And not alone from the point of view of form, but as well and above all, with regard to the emotional content of works more and more profoundly subjective.

From 1815 to 1826, Beethoven wrote some of the most prodigious works ever conceived by human genius. They include:

1815.	Two Sonatas for 'cello and piano, op. 102	
1815-16.	Sonata for piano, op. 101	
1818.	Sonata for piano, op. 106	
1820.	Sonata for piano, op. 109	
1821.	Sonata for piano, op. 110	
1822.	Sonata for piano, op. 111	
1822.	Mass in D, op. 123	
1823-24.	Ninth Symphony, op. 125	
1824.	Twelfth Quartet, op. 127	} The Six Last Quartets
1825.	Fifteenth Quartet, op. 132	
1825.	Grand Fugue, op. 133	
1825-26.	Thirteenth Quartet, op. 130	
1826.	Fourteenth Quartet	
1826.	Sixteenth Quartet	

The two "*Sonatas for 'cello and piano*," op. 102, are hearty works, full of violence, often stopping short. The magnificent *adagio* in the second and its fugal *finale* should be mentioned.

In his five last *Sonatas* for piano, Beethoven passes from reveries of the utmost abandonment to the most absolute affirmations. Once more he gives us a picture of his life; turn in turn he tells us of his distress and his hope, he bares his great soul for us, ever ready to yield to gloomy reflections, yet ever regaining his hold on himself.

Regarding his "*Mass in D*," Beethoven himself has called it "my most finished work." It is, at all events, one of his most colossal and most daring. In 1818 his pupil, the Archduke Rudolf, had been appointed to the archepiscopal see of Olmütz.

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He was to enter into possession officially on March 9, 1820, and Beethoven wished to write a mass for this solemn ceremony; yet in 1820 hardly a third of the work had been scored, so greatly did the proportions it gradually assumed exceed the composer's anticipations. It was not completed until the summer of 1822, and was not sent to the cardinal-archbishop until March 19, 1823. Into this mass, as into his other works, Beethoven had put his whole heart. It was not that he was deliberately pious. A Catholic, yet not at all strict, he had always taken many liberties with the dogmas of the church. Yet he was naturally religious. First of all, he had wished to write a work of a clearly defined liturgic character. In his journal of 1818, he notes: "In order to write true church music, read over the old church chorales . . . also hunt up, somewhere, how the verses read in the most exact translations, together with the complete prosody of the old psalms and songs of Catholic Christianity." But he soon gave over following tradition. As he remarked in 1824 to the organist Freudenberg (of Breslau): "Pure church music should be executed only by the voices, save for a *Gloria* or similar text. That is why I prefer Palestrina; yet *it is absurd to imitate him without possessing his soul or his religious conceptions.*" Once more he wishes before all to be absolutely sincere, and it is his own personal thought he wishes to express. The result is that his mass has a character more human than mystic. It voices man's emotions in the presence of the religious idea, and especially Beethoven's own emotions, which he seeks to translate into music. Such accents lack the anonymous and supernatural character which they should possess in order to represent the word of God, or the voice of the church. It is a concert mass.

Never had any task absorbed Beethoven as did the composition of the "*Mass in D.*" "From the beginning," says Schindler, "his whole being seemed to be transformed, something his old friends, above all, noticed. I must admit that neither before nor after this period have I ever seen him so completely detached from the things of this earth." Certain pages, the *Credo*, for instance, cost him infinite pains. He stamped his feet. He howled in the throes of invention. He was found in

his home, sweating blood and water, livid, his features distorted. The "*Mass in D*" was published in 1827 by subscription, at a price of fifty ducats. No more than seven subscribers responded to Beethoven's appeal, among them the emperor of Russia, the king of Prussia, and the king of France. The Austrian court, Cherubini, and Goethe pretended to ignore the old master's appeal.

Beethoven's "*Choral Symphony*," the ninth, has been called "the work of his whole life." He sketched the theme of the finale as early as 1795 in a song entitled "*Seufzer eines Ungelebten und Gegenliebe*"; he took it up again and developed it in 1808 in his "*Fantasy for Piano, Chorus and Orchestra*"; in 1810 he presents a new version in the song, "*Mit einem gemalten Band*." On the other hand, the idea of setting Schiller's "Hymn to Joy" preoccupied him at an early date; several sketches on different themes are found in his sketch-books of 1798, 1811, 1814, and 1822. Finally, in 1816, Beethoven undertook to write for the London Philharmonic two symphonies of unheard-of dimensions, and of an altogether novel character. In October or November, 1823, the "*Ninth Symphony*" practically had been completed, with the exception of the *finale*. For a moment he considered a purely instrumental *finale*, one which later became the last movement of the "*Fifteenth Quartet*," op. 132. He did not decide until after many tentatives to introduce Schiller's "Hymn of Joy" and the human voices at the end of the symphony.

In February, 1824, the work had been entirely completed. Beethoven addressed himself to the Viennese society called *Die Freunde der Musik* ("The Friends of Music"), to obtain its financial support in the organization of a great concert at which he wished to give an audition of fragments of the "*Mass in D*" and the "*Choral Symphony*." He received a negative response. Then he proposed a first performance of his new works to the Prussian court. A group of rich amateurs, however, sent him an address in which they begged him "to spare the capital such a humiliation, and not to allow his new masterpieces to leave their birthplace before they had won the appreciation of the numerous admirers of the national art," and assured him of their

financial support. Beethoven was deeply moved. The concert took place May 7, 1824; and was a long triumph. The public showed its enthusiasm from moment to moment, and the *séance* ended with a delirious ovation.

Thus Beethoven at last had magnificently realized a project which had haunted him his life long: that of celebrating joy, joy the conqueror of grief, joy which liberates man and brings him nearer God. "At the moment when the theme of Joy is about to appear for the first time," says Romain Rolland, "the orchestra abruptly stops; a sudden silence falls which lends the entrance of the song a character mysterious and divine. And this much is true: the theme *is* actually divine. Joy descends from the skies, enveloped in serenity supernatural; with its light breath it caresses all suffering; and the first impression produced is one so tender that when it glides into the convalescent heart we, like one of Beethoven's friends 'are moved by a desire to weep when looking into her tender eyes.' When the theme then passes to the voices, it first makes its appearance in the bass, serious in character and somewhat downcast. Yet, little by little, Joy takes possession of the soul. It is a war of conquest against grief. And now we have the rhythms of the march, of armies in movement, the ardent and breathless chant of the tenors, all those quivering pages in which we seem to catch Beethoven's own breath, the rhythm of his respiration, and his inspired cries while he strode through the fields composing his work, carried away with demoniac exaltation, like old King Lear in the midst of the storm. Martial joy now is succeeded by religious ecstasy; then followed by a sacred orgy, a delirium of love. A quivering humanity stretches its arms toward the skies, raises puissant clamors, rushes toward Joy and clasps it to its heart!"

Prince Galitzin having ordered three *quartets* from Beethoven, the latter set to work, and his inspiration flowed so abundantly, so richly, with such variety, that he soon had the material for six new works at hand. During fourteen years (1810), Beethoven had not written for the four-string instruments. His *last quartets* long remained an enigma for the public and even for artists. More and more, in this day, we admire the serene grandeur beneath which life pulses with passion beneath the

austere covering of a marvellous polyphony. One might recall the tender *adagio* in 12/8 time of the "*Twelfth Quartet*," first conceived as a sonata for four hands, never completed; the poignant *cavatina* of the "*Thirteenth Quartet*," of which Beethoven himself said: "No melody which ever came from my pen has made such an effect on me and caused me so profound an emotion"; the fugue at the beginning of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth (with its song of gratitude to the Divinity by a convalescent), regarding which Beethoven wrote his publisher: "The quartet which I am sending you will prove that I do not wish to revenge myself for your procedure, that on the contrary I give you the best I could offer my dearest friend. I can assure you, on my honor as an artist, that it is one of the works worthiest of my name. If I am not telling you the exact truth, regard me as the basest of men"; finally, the *andante* of the "*Sixteenth Quartet*," the "song of peace," the "sweet song of repose," which, according to Nohl, was to be Beethoven's last musical thought.

Eight days before his death Beethoven wrote his friend Moscheles, in London: "An entire symphony lies sketched out on my desk, as well as an overture and other things." A few short sketches of his "*Tenth Symphony*," which was to have begun with "religious chants in the ancient modes," ended with "a fête to Bacchus," have been preserved. On the other hand, Beethoven planned to write the music for Grillparzer's "*Melusine*," for Goethe's "*Faust*," an overture on the name *Bach*, and a biblical oratorio, "*Saul and David*," after the manner of Handel, whom he greatly admired.

But his strength failed him. He thought of leaving for the south of France: "*Südliches Frankreich! dahin! dahin!*" "To leave here! . . . a symphony, then leave, leave, leave! . . . Work during the summer for the trip. . . . Travel through Italy, Sicily, with some other artist!" On December 1, 1826, returning from Gneisendorf in an open carriage, he caught cold; a pulmonary congestion developed, which was checked within six days, but then came digestive troubles and difficulties of circulation, as well as dropsy; it was a breakdown of the entire organism. Beethoven's athletic constitution resisted during three months. On March 26, 1827, he finally succumbed, one

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tempestuous day, during a snow-storm, while the thunder crashed. His nephew was not at his side; it was a stranger, a musician, Anselm Hüttenbrenner, who closed his eyes.

Thus was accomplished this tragic destiny.

The drama of Beethoven's life takes place almost altogether in his works. We find this tendency to seek within themselves, in their individual life stories, in their dreams, their desires, their fears, joys, and sufferings, the principal material or object of their art, in the majority of the great musicians of the nineteenth century.

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CHAPTER XIV

GERMAN ROMANTICISM BEFORE RICHARD WAGNER

The beginning of the nineteenth century was one of the most brilliant and most fecund periods in German musical art. At the point of juncture of dying classicism and the romanticism which was coming into being, the three great names of **Beethoven**, of **Schubert**, and of **Weber** meet.

* * *

Schubert profoundly admired Beethoven. They did not know one another. Yet Beethoven said of Schubert: "In truth, Schubert is animated by the divine spark."

At the time when Beethoven was writing his last sonatas, his "*Mass in D*" and the "*Ninth Symphony*," Schubert, choosing the humble *lied* form, produced in this hitherto despised genus, masterpieces which at once lent it an importance equal to that of the symphony or the opera.

The *lied* is essentially German. The word itself means "a song," yet, though there are glad songs and sad songs, the word "song" in general suggests to our mind the idea of a light and merry composition; it practically excludes the thought of profundity. The *lied*, on the contrary, is very often (in most cases, perhaps) sad, serious, profound, and moving rather than joyous or amusing. Nor does the word "romance," as a translation of *lied* properly define a genus of great scope: the "romance" is uniquely sentimental, the *lied* lends itself to every sort of expression. Gounod and Massenet called their short vocal compositions, *mélodies*, and thus seemed to indicate that they thought the entire interest of these works lay in the melodic line or the musical composition rather than in the poetry. On the contrary, what constitutes the originality of the German *lied* is the intimate union between poem and song: in it the words are no mere pretext for music; they claim the attention

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of the listener in the same degree as does the music, and the melody's one function is to make all the expressive value of the poem stand out more clearly. Hence, while some French musicians find any poetry, no matter how mediocre, wretched, empty in itself, good enough to set to music, we see a Schubert or a Schumann choose the masterworks of their greatest national poets in order to provide them with a musical commentary.

The *lied* is a genus of popular origin, and for a long time remained a purely popular song-type. It began to take its place among the artistic types of song toward the end of the eighteenth century, thanks to **Hiller** (1728-1804), the inventor of the *Singspiel*;* to **Reichardt** (1752-1814), and **Zelter** (1758-1832), Goethe's friend, founder of the *Liedertafel*, a male choral society for which he composed a number of works. Mozart introduced various *lieder* in "*The Magic Flute*" and "*Così fan tutte*"; Gluck published a collection of them in 1770, and Beethoven wrote a large number, among them several very admirable ones.

* * *

Franz Schubert was born in Lichtenthal, near Vienna, January 1, 1797; and died in Vienna, November 19, 1828, at the age of thirty-two. His father was schoolmaster in Lichtenthal. He had nineteen children, nine of them dying when quite young. Having noticed that his little Franz was musically gifted, he had him taught the violin at an early age, then secured his admittance to the Vienna court choir, where his attractive boy soprano was much admired. At the same time Franz studied at the seminary, and took lessons in thorough bass from Salieri. In 1813, when sixteen, his voice changing, he left the choir, declining a purse which was offered to enable him to continue studying composition; he did not care much for theoretical work, and besides, his marvellous instinct allowed him to divine, without ever having plumbed them, many of the secrets of his art. From 1813 to 1816 Franz remained by his father's side, aiding him in his teaching. However, he was already writing

* His first collection of songs appeared in Leipsic, in 1759.

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some of his most beautiful songs: "*Marguerite at the Spinning-wheel*" (1814), "*The Erlking*," "*The Voyager*," "*The Postillon*" "*Kronos*." In 1817, his friend Franz von Schober helped him lead a more independent existence; thenceforth he lived on the scant revenues produced from the sale of his works and the financial rewards of a few tours, as well as the aid he sometimes accepted from friends. His love of liberty caused him to refuse the fixed positions offered him. Incidentally, he gave but little thought to his material interests. He sold six songs which formed part of the "*Winter Journey*" for six gulden. To the end of his days, like Mozart, he remained poor.

Small, pot-bellied, Schubert wore glasses, behind which gleamed lively and penetrating eyes, his hair was frizzled and his lips thick. Of a very merry and affectionate disposition, he could not dispense with the society of his friends. It was his delight to make excursions into the countryside near Vienna in the summer, excursions of which he was the life and soul; these, in his little circle, were known as "Schubertiades."

Love certainly played a part in Schubert's life. In which way? The question is difficult to answer with any exactitude. Schubert showed himself most reserved, most discreet on this point. It seems probable that he cherished a profound love for Therese Grob, for whom he wrote the solos in his first mass, and whom he could not marry for want of sufficient means, though she waited three years for him. His pupil, Caroline Esterhazy, also may have inspired a tender attachment in him.

Schubert's lofty and ideally pure soul was not devoid of a strain of mysticism. Very idealistic, he was vividly preoccupied with the thought of the world beyond.

Like Mozart, Schubert knew that his powers were leaving him at an early hour, and had a presentiment of his approaching end. He died prematurely, exhausted, and was buried in the Währing cemetery, near Beethoven's tomb, according to his own wish.

Schubert's musical prolificacy was extraordinary. During the one month of August, 1815, he composed 29 *lieder*. In the course of the same year he wrote 137 *lieder*, 2 symphonies, a quartet, 4 sonatas, 2 masses, and 5 operas.

Schubert composed in all 634 *lieder*, 100 to Goethe's poems

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alone, the rest settings of poems by Schiller, Heine, Uhland, Rückert, etc. We might mention a few titles: "*Marguerite at the Spinningwheel*," "*First Loss*," "*The King of Thule*"; the "songs of a harper," taken from "*Wilhelm Meister*," the "*Mignon*" songs, "*Thou Art My Rest*," "*Death and the Maiden*," the two cycles, "*The Lovely Millermaid*" and "*The Winter Voyage*"; and, finally, in his "*Schwanengesang*" ("Swan Song"), a posthumous collection, the series of marvellous melodies inspired by Heine: "*Love Message*," "*Serenade*," "*Retreat*," "*Atlas*," "*Her Portrait*," "*The City*," "*By the Sea*," "*The Double*." Besides his songs, Schubert left eight symphonies, among them the beautiful "*Unfinished*," in B minor; *quartets*, *trios*, and *sonatas* which contain some remarkable pages; several *masses*, and a host of *operas* of little value.

Schubert very often makes us think of Beethoven. He resembles him in the profundity of his emotion, in his expressional power, in his tragic grandeur.

He is more the poet than Beethoven. Confronted by a Goethe text, he seizes all its nuances with great skill; his soul, more mobile, associates a greater number of varied impressions with a focal emotion. In this respect he is more highly gifted for the *lied* than Beethoven.

On the other hand, while Beethoven's sketch-books prove to us that he ceaselessly took up and elaborated the work he had sketched, returning to his first attempts, correcting them, modifying them, sacrificing them at times, securing no results without the most desperate toil, Schubert was, first of all, an improvisator. He never toils; his inspiration is inexhaustible and ignores all retouching, another quality of his genius which predestined him for the *lied*. In truth, it is only in short compositions that improvisation is at its happiest. A symphony or a quartet cannot be improvised. And it is just in the quartet or symphony that Schubert often exposes the weakness of his structural gifts; it is evident that he is still improvising; now, however, his facility presents the greatest disadvantages, and at times his developments are no more than long and tiresome delays. Hence it is in his *lieder* that we must, above all, seek Schubert, for in them we will find him at his completest.

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He has no point of evolution, like Beethoven; from the very first day he showed all he was to become; another result of the spontaneity of his genius. Beethoven conquered the mastery of his art in the thick of battle, and wished to renew himself without ceasing. Schubert was born with all the gifts the *lied* demands; there was nothing left for him to conquer; and besides, he cultivated the musical genus in which it is least necessary and even least possible to renew one's self.

Schubert is as romantic as Beethoven and more so. In him sympathy for Nature is more developed, or, at any rate, more refined. In the presence of the ocean, a river, the mountains, he experienced feelings infinitely more varied. Beethoven appears to love the countryside with a love somewhat general, and indifferent to individual circumstances; upon Schubert each landscape produced a different effect, if we are to judge by the diversity of the descriptions we meet with in his songs. It is not unusual, in fact, to find them framed in a picturesque accompaniment, or to note that the latter lends them a species of actual atmosphere. With Schubert, incidentally, as in Beethoven's case, description never takes first place; it is subordinated to expression, or else merged with it.

Schubert had a feeling for the fantastic which Beethoven did not possess. In this respect Schubert's "*Erlking*" may be compared with the sketch of a song which Beethoven attempted to write to the same poem. Beethoven grasps the drama admirably, yet he allows all the poesy of the supernatural visions depicted by Goethe to escape him. Schubert is just as dramatic as Beethoven, and he is even more scenic, for he makes his horse gallop, the wind blows through his trees, the tempest roars, the entire "stage setting" and action are marvellously translated into music. And to all these means planned to rouse our emotion, there must be added a certain character of mystery in vocal accent and instrumental color, by whose aid we may evoke the hallucinatory and nightmarish apparitions of the delirious child, the world of fairies and evil spirits: something which all Beethoven's art is powerless to convey.

Schubert is the master of the *lied*; never, thus far, has he been surpassed, nor perhaps equalled. We might observe, in addi-

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tion, that he invented a genus absolutely new by transporting the *lied* into the domain of instrumental music, and in writing the little pieces which he called "*Moments musicaux*" for the piano; the last are the first specimens of those "*Lieder ohne Worte*" ("Songs without Words") whose form, under this name and under others, Mendelssohn, Schumann, and Brahms adopted, thus creating a host of delightful miniature keyboard poems.

* * *

Carl Maria von Weber was born in Eutin, a little town in Holstein, on December 18, 1786. He was a cousin of Konstanze Weber, Mozart's wife. A puny infant; he limped. At an early hour Weber lost his mother, who died of a pulmonary complaint. His father being a theatre conductor, the boy spent most of his time behind the scenes. Music first attracted him, then he took up lithography, whose processes he perfected, and finally he once more returned to music. At the age of seventeen he was conducting the orchestra of the Breslau opera. Then he became *Kapellmeister* of the duchess of Würtemberg, at Carlsruhe. At that time he wrote two symphonies. In 1806 he abandoned the musical profession for the moment, in order to enter the service of the duke of Würtemberg as confidential secretary. His father's knavery, however, compelled him to give up his position. He retired to Mannheim, and then to Darmstadt, where, together with young Mendelssohn, he studied composition with Vogler. After the non-success of his "*Sylvana*" in Frankfurt, he made a tour as a virtuoso pianist. In 1813 he was appointed orchestra conductor at the Prague theatre, which he endeavored to reorganize. He mounted "*Ferdinando Cortez*," by *Spontini*; "*Don Giovanni*," "*Nozze di Figaro*," "*Clemenza di Tito*," by *Mozart*; comic operas by *Cherubini*, *Dalayrac*, *Niccolò*, *Boïeldieu*; "*Fidelio*" by *Beethoven*, and "*Faust*" by *Spohr*. He tried to educate public opinion by means of articles in the papers. He began to take cognizance of his individual musical trends, and to perfect himself as a musician and a theatrical man.

At the age of thirty, Weber as yet had not produced a single one of his masterworks. On January 13, 1817, he was called

to Dresden, as *Kapellmeister*. He was intrusted with the task of making the German stage self-supporting in face of the competition of the flourishing Italian opera. At first he had "*Joseph*," by Méhul, performed; then scores by *Boïeldieu*, *Grétry*, and *Niccolò*. At the same time, however, he started working to build up a genuine German repertory. In 1821 he had his "*Freischütz*" performed, first in Berlin, then on every operatic stage in Germany, including that of Dresden, and with the greatest success. It is the legend of the Black Huntsman, the huntsman who has sold his soul to the demon *Samiel* in order to cast the enchanted bullets which never miss their mark in the Wolf's Glen, and thus win victory and his love's hand in a marksmanship contest. In 1825 "*Euryanthe*" was not so well received. This subject was taken from "the tale of Gérard de Nevers and the beautiful and virtuous Euryanthe, his love," in Schlegel's collection of French poems of the eighteenth century; the same tale had inspired a novel by Boccaccio and Shakespeare's "*Cymbeline*." Weber, already seriously ill, then wrote "*Oberon*" for London, after having thought of doing a "*Faust*"; "*Oberon*" was another old legend, this time borrowed from "*Huon de Bordeaux*." At this time Weber's material circumstances—he had married Caroline Brandt, a singer, in 1817—were anything but brilliant; he left for England, convinced that he would die there, but, on the other hand, sure of rescuing his family from misery. On April 12, 1826, the first performance of "*Oberon*" took place, with enormous success, and Weber died during the night of the 4th or 5th of June of that year.

We shall not dwell upon Weber's chamber-music and symphonic compositions; they are often very negligently written. A few works may be excepted: the "*Sonata in B flat*" for piano, which contains fine pages; the well-known "*Concertstück*," and "*The Invitation to the Dance*." We might note in passing that to Weber, as a composer-pianist, are due some technical inventions of design in keyboard music, in the disposition of arpeggios and the writing chords.

Weber owes his greatest fame to his operas, not that these are faultless. Weber never was able to write an absolutely

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perfect work. His thoughts were too scattered, he was too little of a worker, he always improvised. And, besides, he lacked a feeling for continuity; he leaped all too easily from one idea to another. On the other hand, Weber was, above all, intellectual, imaginative; his emotions are not always sufficiently developed out of his inner self, they show themselves in great outbursts unsupported by deep sentiment; he is a trifle dry. Yet what a poet, and what a genius as regards the theatre! One of his contemporaries already reproaches "*Euryanthe*" with "being poetry rather than music." He is a man of the theatre by training and by instinct. Then how could he have accepted such wretched librettos? We must take for granted that he considered the subjects in themselves alone, without taking into account the weakness of their presentation. He grew enthusiastic over the "*Freischütz*" because it was a popular German legend which lent itself admirably to his plan of founding a national German opera, of making head against the Italian and French opera. The legends of "*Euryanthe*" and "*Oberon*" were borrowed from old French tradition, but their extremely romantic character made it easy to Germanize them.

Weber's music spoke an altogether novel musical language. He made use of a species of melodic declamation, especially beginning with "*Euryanthe*," which served Wagner for a model; and his care in exactly following the movement of the poetry and the drama, led him to divide his scores into scenes, instead of airs, duos, trios, ensembles, etc. His rhythms are infinitely varied; among them are rhythmic formulas singularly living, vibrant, and impetuous, in place of the previous everlasting "rounded" ones. The orchestration in his music takes on extraordinary variety and color: he has a predilection for the poetic *timbre* of the horn and the clarinet, which he employs with altogether original effect. He excels in the expression of the dreamy, the fantastic, the unreal, the supernatural. He knows marvellously well how to depict the world of fairies, elves, and gnomes. His overtures, constructed on the motives of his operas, are masterpieces far more finished than the operas themselves. They are conceived with the purpose of at once

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placing the action in its proper frame, and awakening in the spectators sentiments conforming to the spirit of the drama. Thus the horn motive at the beginning of the "*Freischütz*" overture admirably evokes the mystery of the forest. The knightly theme in triplets of the overture to "*Euryanthe*," which Wagner had in mind when he wrote the "*Bridal Chorus*" in "*Lohengrin*," immediately determines the character of the work. This use of motives, which from the beginning of the overture assume such importance of meaning, already makes us think of the Wagnerian conception of the *leading motive*. On the other hand, the romantic feeling for Nature which lends Weber's operas so penetrant a charm, heralds the mysterious, symbolic, and metaphysical music of the "*Trilogy*." Weber even thought, vaguely, of an intimate union of the "sister arts" in the bosom of the drama. "The Italians and the French," said he, "formed a conception of the opera within which they move hither and yon, contentedly; not so the Germans. . . . Where in the case of other nations all is sacrificed for momentary sensual enjoyment, Germany seeks to create a unified work of art, an ensemble art work, all of whose parts will be harmoniously joined in a sum total of beauty!"

Weber not only opened a way for Richard Wagner, often enough he inspired Berlioz, Mendelssohn, Schumann, Liszt, and Chopin. He influenced all the musicians of the first half of the nineteenth century. It has been said with truth that "*la Dame Blanche*," "*Zampa*," and "*Robert le Diable*" are no more than far-away imitations of the "*Freischütz*."

Aside from Weber, three or four composers played a rôle which, though secondary, is not without importance in the history of German dramatic music during the first part of the nineteenth century. **Spohr** (1784-1859), a great violin virtuoso, in addition to the very numerous compositions he wrote for his instrument, aside from the oratorios and symphonies he composed, had ten operas performed, among them a "*Faust*" (1816), which discloses a certain tendency toward naturalistic revery.

It might be claimed that Spohr with his "*Faust*" opened the way for Weber, and the same holds good for **Hoffmann**, the au-

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thor of the *Fantastic Tales*, who in addition to the literary works which made him famous, wrote much music, and notably a romantic opera, "*Undine*" (1816).

Heinrich August Marschner (1795-1861), wrote a host of operas, among which "*Der Vampir*" (1828), "*Der Templer und die Jüdin*" (1829), and "*Hans Heiling*" (1833), hold their place in the repertoire of the German stage. "*Hans Heiling*" especially enjoyed extraordinary success, and the romantic style of the work was not without influence on Wagner when the latter composed his "*Flying Dutchman*." Marschner was also the composer of many *lieder*, choruses, and chamber-music works.

Gustav Albert Lortzing (1803-1851) devoted himself to comic opera, and some of his scores are given to this day on the German operatic stages. He wrote a "*Hans Sachs*," in 1840, which won no success, yet which must have drawn Wagner's attention to a subject he was to take up later. Lortzing's most original work is his "*Wildschütz*" (1842).

* * *

With Schubert and Weber musical romanticism is definitely implanted in Germany. To this day German music has not yet emerged from the romantic period. A few attempts in favor of a return to classicism will still be made; but the classicism of a Mendelssohn or a Brahms is strongly mingled with romantic elements.

* * *

Felix Mendelssohn, born in Hamburg in 1809, died in Leipsic in 1847, is an example of the disadvantages of too great facility and a life too happy and sheltered. He was the grandson of the philosopher Moses Mendelssohn, and the son of a rich banker. His extraordinary musical gifts, as well as those of his sister Fanny, were manifested in early childhood. When nine years old, in 1818, he played in public for the first time. He conducted an orchestra in his father's home and had little operas, which he had composed, performed there. Later he discovered Johann Sebastian Bach, and, in his enthusiasm for the grand

old cantor, organized a great concert in 1829 to give the "*St. Matthew Passion*" a hearing. He had the merit of understanding the ancients and of spreading a knowledge of their works. On the other hand, he always remained insensible to the penetrant art of his friend Schumann. In 1829 Mendelssohn took a trip to England, which at once made him universally famous. He possessed all the qualities necessary to please the English: clarity, order, elegance, distinction, gravity. Thenceforth he marched from success to success. In 1835 he was appointed conductor of the *Gewandhaus* orchestra concerts in Leipsic. In 1843 he founded a conservatoire in the same city. He married in 1837 and died in 1847, a few months after his sister Fanny.

Mendelssohn wrote cantatas or oratorios, "*Paulus*" (1836), "*Elias*" (1837), five *symphonies*, various *overtures*, scenic music for "*Antigone*" and "*A Midsummer Night's Dream*," a great deal of *chamber-music*, of *piano music*, and *songs*. During his lifetime he was admired as the peer of the greatest masters. It is the fashion to-day to deny him any value at all. We will endeavor to judge him fairly and equitably.

Mendelssohn certainly had his great failings: he "imitated" with deplorable facility; he writes *à la Bach* or *à la Handel* at wish, and even without wishing to do so. He has an unhappy predilection for the expression of superficial sentiment; he abuses melodic forms; his developments are too lengthy. Yet the grace, charm, and elegance of his writing must be acknowledged. He is remarkable, above all, in his lighter pieces, in his *scherzos*, whose original note is one of picturesque romanticism. In his elfin dances he is at his best. Even his qualities, it must be admitted, are a trifle commonplace, though in his case they are often raised to a lofty plane. We are soon wearied by his languor or his amiable fantasy; we demand emotions more powerful or a more scientific play of design.

Plain, with regular features, black hair framing blue eyes, a mouth slightly open, his lips thrust forward as though to whistle, a gentle, dreamy, somewhat absent expression, these few phrases sum up Schumann's physiognomy. He was kind, tender, generous, impressionable to excess and abnormally

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sensitive. He suffered his life long from the nervous trouble which prepared for him the most atrocious end imaginable.

Robert Schumann was born in Zwickau, Saxony, June 8, 1810. His grandfather was a Protestant pastor and his father a librarian. He was the youngest of five children. From the age of nine he studied the piano very seriously. Yet at the same time he read Byron and wrote dramas and novels. The works of Jean Paul Richter made a profound impression on his mind, one which it never forgot.

He lost his father in 1826, and to please his mother had himself enrolled as a law student in the University of Leipsic.

At the same time he took the philosophy courses, reading Kant, Schelling, Fichte; wrote verses; learned how to fence; and wept while deciphering Schubert's *lieder*. He was the very type of the romantic student, imaginative and overwrought, subject to fits of acute melancholy; yet, something altogether characteristic of his nature, he preserved intact the greatest purity of soul and morals.

In Leipsic Schumann made the acquaintance of the pianist Friedrich Wieck and his daughter Clara, who, at six years of age, was already a virtuoso. Schumann himself still kept up his piano work, composed, and studied Bach. He had not as yet decided, however, that he would become a musician.

He now undertook a voyage through Germany and the north of Italy, then established himself in Heidelberg, where he resumed his law studies without giving up the piano, to which he devoted seven working hours a day. He began to be known as a player, and composed a few of his "*Papillons*."

In 1830—he was twenty—the enthusiasm aroused at a concert given by Paganini definitely revealed to him the irresistible appeal of his true vocation. He begged his mother to authorize him to give up the law for music. Obtaining her consent, so ardently desired, he returned to Leipsic, where he asked Friedrich Wieck to direct his piano studies. His one thought now was to become a great virtuoso. Yet when an accident deprived him of the use of his little finger, he was obliged to give up his pianistic career.

At once he impatiently took up, and pursued with some-

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what capricious irregularity, the study of harmony and counterpoint.

A grievous sequence of events brusquely interrupted his activities. The death of his sister-in-law and of his brother was a cause of heart-rending sorrow. He fell into accesses of delirium, and yielded to the most profound melancholy. The first symptoms of his nervous malady made their appearance.

Nevertheless, little by little, he regained his normal balance and resumed work. In 1834 he founded the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, to defend the opinions of the younger, "advanced" musicians against the routine of the conservative spirits, and the poor taste of the "Philistines." It was in this musical journal that he had the merit, later, of calling the attention of connoisseurs to the budding genius of Chopin and the intriguing personality of Brahms.

Schumann was stricken with two new griefs in 1834 and 1836. He first lost his best friend, Ludwig Schunke, and then his mother. His great sensitiveness was ill prepared to resist such shocks, and whenever they occurred he was profoundly shaken.

Hitherto Schumann had written only for the piano (all his compositions from op. 1 to op. 23). By the great general public his music was adjudged too difficult and too obscure. Schumann was successful with it only in a very small circle of friends.

Schumann's love for Clara Wieck inspired his first songs (1840), and thus led him to realize his remarkable aptitude for a genus in which he was destined to produce some of his most masterly compositions.

Schumann wished to marry Clara Wieck. On two different occasions, however, his old piano teacher refused his consent to the union, under the pretext that the young musician had no fixed position. It was then, in the hope of overcoming his future father-in-law's resistance, that Schumann had himself received as a doctor of philosophy of the University of Jena. Wieck did not give way. Schumann's chronic ill health alarmed him, and he had been greatly impressed by a fact which he could not ignore: one of Schumann's sisters had died insane.

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In the end Schumann addressed himself to the courts and, after extremely painful discussions, finally obtained permission to marry the girl he loved. The marriage took place September 12, 1840, and the two artists always lived in the most intimate and most tenderly affectionate union.

Wieck did not become reconciled to them until four years later.

It was in 1840 that Schumann for the first time wrote *songs*, and in the course of that same year he composed a hundred.

Beginning with 1841, he essays the *symphony* and *chamber-music*. At length he writes *symphonic poems* of a sort, with voice and orchestra, such as "*Das Paradies und die Peri*," "*Der Rose Pilgerfahrt*," and "*Faust*."

Yet his health suddenly failed (1845), and he was obliged to give up all work. He was nursed, and recovered. Yet this crisis, more than usually serious, left him with excruciatingly painful recollections, and a presentiment of his approaching end. A relapse (1846) confirmed these gloomy thoughts.

He sought to distract himself with unremitting labor, which, however, only aggravated his malady. He wrote in succession an opera, "*Genoveva*," performed without much success in Leipzig (1848); music for Byron's "*Manfred*," a "*Mass*" (1852), and a "*Requiem*" (1852).

It was in December, 1849, that Schumann first showed signs of mental irresponsibility. On February 27, 1854, seized with a fit of madness, he threw himself into the Rhine. He was pulled out. It was found necessary, however, to shut him up in a madhouse, where he ended his days in despair. He died July 29, 1856.

Could there be a more terrible drama than this horrible struggle between sanity and madness!

Like Schubert, Schumann was born for the *lied*. Like him, too, he was a poet. Again, like him, he had that spontaneity, that swiftness of inspiration appropriate for works in which construction counts for nothing, while verity and accuracy of touch and wealth of imagination are everything.

In a literary sense Schumann was cultured far beyond Schubert, and this often aided him to penetrate deeply into the de-

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tail and nuance of thought of poets like Goethe, Schiller, and Heine. His art is that of a man more refined, more heedful of finish, more meticulous than Schubert. Notwithstanding this he is not lacking in the power which overwhelms. Yet he is equally penetrant, and attains the same tragic effects by other means. He does not possess the generous nature and rich expansion of Schubert. Schumann is concentrated, his style is clear-cut, precise; his phrases short, compacted.

His expression is always altogether "inward" (*innig*); he puts aside the description of Nature and of the supernatural; in his case all is transposed into absolute emotion; the decorations are missing. His music is never theatrical; it cannot be appreciated in an absolutely intimate frame. Even more: no interpreter can ever quite render the profound impression caused by a simple reading of his "*Dichterliebe*" ("*Poet's Love*"), or his "*Frauenliebe und Leben*" ("*Woman's Love and Life*").

Schumann invented new procedures of psychological notation. In Schubert's *lieder* the piano in most cases plays a modest accompanimental part and rarely expresses anything but the song, unless it chances to develop the pictorial side of the poem. Schumann divides his commentary of the poetry he sets to music between the melody and the piano. The human voice and the instrument speak in dialogue, and often the singer's part is not the most important. It even happens that Schumann, as in the conclusion of his "*Dichterliebe*," abandons the voice completely for a whole page, as though it had become incapable of expressing all the emotion with which his heart overflows. He lets himself go in a passionate meditation for piano solo, which, perhaps, is the culminating point of the work. At this moment the inner drama no longer is able to express itself in words; wordless music alone has the necessary eloquence.

On the other hand, in the "*Liederkreise*" (cycles of melodies), such as "*Dichterliebe*," "*Frauenliebe und Leben*," Schumann links a series of songs one to the other until they form a profoundly unified whole. Thus, like a series of images, or rather of sentimental impressions, there is unrolled a whole drama of passion, a whole life even, in its poetic reflex.

Besides his *lieder* Schumann's *piano works* possess great im-

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portance. Into this domain he introduced a fancifulness and capriciousness never before accorded so large a place there, and in his piano pieces his dreamy soul sings the charm of evening, the innocent pleasures of childhood, or else the joys and sorrows of love.

In his *chamber-music* and his *symphonic music*, Schumann shows entire respect for the classic forms; yet their thematic and emotional content remains romantic, which presents a somewhat disconcerting apposition. We might add that his manner of development is often scholastic and dry; the repetition of the same rhythms at times becoming an obsession.

Yet the quality of his thought soon leads us to forget a few weaknesses in its presentation: the *trios* and the *quartets*, the *quintet* and the *symphonies* offer some of the loveliest pages Schumann ever wrote.

His compositions for voice and orchestra are unequal, and at times the subjects with which he deals exceed the grasp of his charming invention, his poetic fancy, his tenderness, so passionately dolorous, yet graceful in a manner somewhat too exclusively feminine.

* * *

The romanticism of Schubert, Weber, and Schumann does not go to the length of upsetting all the classic traditions. These composers, though innovators, were innovators who took precautions, and did not overturn the laws of musical construction or the principles of harmony then universally accepted. Yet a veritable revolution was preparing in the domain of music, and the first revolutionary in the German countries was destined to be Franz Liszt.

Franz Liszt, the son of an accountant in the service of Prince Esterhazy, was born in Raiding, Hungary, on October 22, 1811. He was nourished in infancy on the music of the Gipsies and that of Beethoven. When nine years old he already was a remarkable piano virtuoso, and made his first appearance in public. From ten to twelve he was the pupil of Czerny, the friend and interpreter of Beethoven, on the piano, and of Salieri in composition. When he gave his second concert in Vienna, Bee-

thoven, who was in the audience, became so enthused that he leaped upon the stage to embrace the young artist.

When twelve, Liszt arrived in Paris, to which city he returned again and again, and in which he passed much of his life until 1847. In Paris he was subjected to all sorts of literary, artistic, and worldly influences. French romanticism exerted a great effect upon him. When twelve and a half years old he had an opera, "*Don Sanche*," performed. Then he began his concert tours through Europe, astonishing his auditors with his dazzling technic as well as with the power and depth of his interpretations.

When fifteen (1826), he wrote "*Douze études pour le piano*" which later (1838), became the "*Douze études d'exécution transcendante*," the fourth among them being destined to take shape as the symphonic poem "*Mazeppa*."

Liszt now undergoes crises of mysticism, he dreams of entering the priesthood. The revolution of 1830 turns his passionate need for an ideal into other channels: he becomes a democrat, a socialist.

Berlioz's "*Fantastique*" was a revelation for Liszt; he made an admirable piano arrangement of it. He had become enamoured of the ideas of the composer of the "*Épisode de la vie d'un artiste*," and turned into the most enthusiastic partisan of poetic and descriptive music, of programme music.

Soon, returning to certain ideas advanced by Fétis in 1832, he insisted that modern tonality should be reconstituted by the abolition of the ancient customs which enclosed melody and all its developments within too narrow limits. He declared that no chord should be considered absolutely foreign to a given tonality, no matter how far removed from the latter it might appear to be at first glance; and he was in favor of suppressing all the transitions demanded by the ancient laws of modulation.

From 1836 to 1844, Liszt's *liaison* with the countess d'Agoult, who later was to become known as a writer under the pseudonym of Daniel Stern, took him away from France, to Geneva, to Rome, to the banks of the Rhine. Of this troubled union, full of tempests, three children were born: Daniel, who died at

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twenty; Blandine, the future Mme. Emile Ollivier, and Cosima, who was to marry first Hans von Bülow, then Wagner.

In February, 1847, Liszt gave a charity concert in Kieff. He was told that one great lady had paid a hundred roubles for her ticket. She was the princess of Sayn-Wittgenstein, and was then twenty-eight; while Liszt was thirty-six. A new *liaison* was formed, whose beginning, at any rate, was happy and brilliant. Liszt was appointed director of music to the grand duke of Weimar. He installed himself in Altenburg with the princess of Wittgenstein, and there established an artistic centre which irradiated all Germany for some fifteen years.

It was then that Liszt wrote his symphonic poems: the "*Dante Symphony*" (1847-1848), "*Tasso*" (1849), "*Ce qu'on entend sur la montagne*" (1849), "*Mazeppa*" (1850), "*Festklänge*" (1851), the "*Faust Symphony*" (1853-1854), "*Orpheus*" and "*les Préludes*." His admirable "*Sonata in B Minor*" for piano dates from 1853; and his "*Graner Messe*" from 1855, etc.

At the same time Liszt worked for others. On February 16, 1849, he had Richard Wagner's "*Tannhäuser*" performed in Weimar; on August 28, 1850, his "*Lohengrin*"; on March 20, 1852, Berlioz's "*Benvenuto Cellini*"; on December 15, 1858, Peter Cornelius's "*Der Babier von Bagdad*"; and he had all Berlioz's works performed in the concert-hall.

Liszt maintained relations with all the great artists of his day, and it may be said that he was useful to all of them. He kept his eye open for talents to fecundate, for geniuses to serve. "Though all my life long," he declared, "I produce nothing good or beautiful, I shall nevertheless find a real and deep happiness in enjoying that which I recognize and admire as being grand and beautiful in others."

In the end Liszt's position in Weimar brought him too many enviers, too many enemies. In 1861 he retired and left for Rome, followed by pupils and enthusiastic admirers.

In 1858 he had become a tertiary of the Franciscan order. In 1865 he took the minor vows. It was then that he composed his great religious works: "*The Legend of Saint Elizabeth*" and "*Christus*."

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Aging, he no longer attached importance to his glory as a pianist, though his contemporaries refused to acknowledge his fame as a composer, the only glory his ambition still craved; he took part, however, with joy in the triumph of Wagner at Bayreuth. It was there that he died on January 31, 1886, satisfied, to use his own noble words, with having "cast his javelin into the illimitable spaces of the future."

The future has atoned to the great artist for the injustice done him in his own day. The interest in Franz Liszt's works is increasingly greater, and day by day we are better able to visualize the large place which this innovator occupied in the musical history of the nineteenth century.

His compositions have their weaknesses: he may be reproached at times with using themes of mediocre quality, and of a rather loose or shallow development. Yet, even in his most unequal works, there is always fire, movement, a host of detail inventions, harmonic, orchestral, or even melodic, which directly presage Wagner, and also, in a manner more or less remote, the Russian impressionists and Debussy.*

Yet it is chiefly Wagner of whom Liszt makes us think. One might even say that Wagner invented nothing which Liszt had not discovered before him. The whole Wagnerian style is already sketched out in Liszt's works. Yet there was too much of the improvisator in Liszt. Only Wagner had the power of genius as well as the will enabling him to gather these elements of a musical idiom hitherto unused into pages of consequent perfection, where continuity of inspiration is often sustained by the firmness of long premeditated design.

* The tonal liberties taken by Liszt led him to write very modulatory themes, sustained by harmonies which show direct linking of sevenths, and even of ninths. The melody does not always end in a tonal cadence: it remains in suspense.

The development is often dominated by the influence of a literary or pictorial programme, and hardly ever borrows anything from the forms of classic architecture. Polyphony often plays a considerable part in it, and the "cyclic" tendency is frequently made manifest.

As regards the piano style, Liszt gave it a certain number of new factors, chief among them: the imitation of the violin "stroke of the bow," the frequent use of the *tremolo*, scales in octaves divided between the two hands, leaps in tremendous intervals, the *glissando*, and the inner melody played by the thumb or divided between the two hands.

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CHAPTER XV

FROM ROSSINI TO VERDI

VERISM

By the end of the eighteenth century Italian opera had fallen into entire decadence. During the nineteenth century it awoke to new life with Rossini and Verdi.

Gioachino Rossini was born in Pesaro, a small town in the Romagna, on February 29, 1792. His father was a slaughter-house inspector and a *tubatore* (municipal trumpeter). His mother sang, and when his father was sent to jail for republican tendencies, she went on the stage. Little Rossini's education was much neglected. First apprenticed to a charcoal-burner, then to a blacksmith, he soon showed such unmistakable signs of his musical vocation that he was given piano lessons. After that he sang in church, and learned to play the horn and violin. He found patrons, and when fourteen had already written a two-act opera, "*Demetrio e Polibio*."

At the age of fifteen Rossini entered the *Liceo musicale* of Bologna, and the composition class of Father Mattei. The German masters aroused his enthusiasm, and he delighted in reconstituting the Haydn and Mozart quartets from individual parts. He was surnamed "the German."

Rossini, however, wished to succeed in opera as rapidly as possible in order to make a living. Yet what were the conditions of musical production in Italy in his day? There were four opera seasons: carnival, lenten, spring, and autumn. Every composer wrote four operas a year, one for each season. When he came to the town in which his new work was to be produced, not a note of his score had been written. He began by listening to the company; then, in about three weeks, he patched together a slovenly score, taking care to adapt his music exactly to the abilities of the singers placed at his disposal. If his opera was a success, it was repeated some thirty times—and

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then was never again heard. Rossini possessed the gift of improvisation, without which such a trade could not be carried on, to the highest degree. Yet he was able to give a little more care and attention to the composition of his operas than the majority of his contemporaries.

He won his first victory during the carnival of Venice with his "*L'Inganno felice*" (1811), a spirited farce. Then, after a few other attempts, he wrote "*Tancred*," and immediately after it "*L'Italiana in Algeri*" (1813), respectively a musical tragedy and a buffa opera, which established his budding reputation.

Barbaja, a former café waiter, subsequently owner of a gaming-house, and finally director of the Naples theatres, then engaged Rossini at a salary of 15,000 francs per year, to write two operas annually. Already Rossini's style had grown more masculine, more energetic, more eloquent. His "*Elisabetta, regina d'Inghilterra*" scored a triumph, in part due to its overture, borrowed from a preceding work, "*Aureliano in Palmiro*" (1814), and which he once more placed at the beginning of his "*Barbiere di Siviglia*"; thanks also to the finale of the first act and its striking *crescendo*; an effect which Rossini used and abused. In this opera he had suppressed the "secco recitative," that is to say, the recitative with piano accompaniment only, a revolutionary thing to do in his day.

At the same time Rossini had his "*Barbiere di Siviglia*" performed in Rome (1815). The first night was a very stormy one. All the music-lovers of the city had declared in advance that Paesiello, who had set the same book, could not be surpassed. The tenor Garcia was hissed when he fumbled in tuning the strings of his guitar. Bazile, when he made his entrance, stumbled and nearly broke his nose. A cat ran across the stage during the finale of the second act, and the whole audience mewed. Rossini refused to conduct the orchestra at the second performance. Yet at the end of the second evening, he was sought for to respond to the enthusiastic applause of the crowd, which wished to carry him in triumph; this time the success of the "*Barbiere*" was decisive. This score, so youthful, so alive and vital, written, so it is said, in thirteen days, is Rossini's masterpiece and that of the Italian buffa opera.

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The same year Rossini gave "*Otello*" in Naples and resolutely entered upon a new path. Abandoning the traditional musical tragedy, whose action was necessarily inward, psychological, he cultivated by preference external effects, situations moving in themselves, all that pathos which, though violent, is still somewhat inferior in kind; that pathos which characterizes what we call "melodrama," in the pejorative sense of the word. He thus led Italian opera into a new road along which it was destined to continue. The best page of "*Otello*" was the famous romance "*Assisa al piè d'un salice*."

Without pausing to enumerate all the works which the young composer's fecund genius ceaselessly produced, we might mention, in 1818, the "*Moïse en Égypte*," whose celebrated "*Prayer*," written after the score was completed, is well known.

Now came the Neapolitan revolution (1820). Rossini, who had married a singer, Mlle. Colbran, seven years older than himself, but the possessor of an income of 20,000 francs and a villa in Sicily, left for Vienna, where he met Beethoven. Then he returned to Bologna, and composed his "*Semiramis*," performed February 3, 1823, in Venice, at the Fenice Theatre, without any success. Rossini again left Italy, and undertook a tour of concerts and *soirées* in England, which netted him 65,000 francs.

It was then that the maestro decided to make himself known in France. He was first engaged as director of the *Théâtre-Italien* in Paris, for eighteen months, in Paër's place; and was then appointed "inspector of singing in France" and "composer to the king." He soon realized that the Italian works were not meant for the French, who demanded exact declamation and less ornament; who desired performances which lasted longer, and operas of greater importance, especially with regard to majesty of ensemble and spectacular pomp.

The "*Siège de Corinthe*" (1826), was an immense success and yet the work did not amount to much. "*Moïse*" made a still greater impression on the public. But "*Guillaume Tell*" (1829) was the score destined definitely to establish Rossini's reputation in France. In order to compose this opera he had made a great effort and worked for six months. The overture

took on unusual dimensions, the orchestration was carefully planned; the happy effects of local color were noticeable; its declamation possessed breadth, simplicity, and spontaneity. It was Rossini's masterpiece in the serious style. Yet "*Guillaume Tell*" has the great drawback of belonging to the bastard genus known as the historic melodrama, one which lends itself but little to a truly musical development. "*Guillaume Tell*" is far from attaining the perfection which marks the "*Barbiere*."

After "*Guillaume Tell*," written when he was thirty-seven, Rossini renounced the operatic stage. No doubt he was alarmed by the growing glory of Meyerbeer. He returned to Italy, but soon grew weary of it and came back to settle in Paris. His first wife having died in 1845, he married a second time, his bride being a Madame Olympe Pélistier.

Rossini died in 1868, having written nothing of importance for a period of some forty years, with the exception of his "*Stabat Mater*" (1832-1842).

What remains of Rossini's tremendous output? He himself, with astonishing clearness, foretold what would survive: the third act of "*Otello*," the second of "*Guillaume Tell*," and the "*Barbiere di Siviglia*." Few composers have known themselves better than he did. A remark he is said to have addressed to Wagner (1860) has been quoted: "I had facility, I might have attained to something!"

Rossini did not sufficiently love and respect his art. He commercializes it, measuring out his effort as the exigencies of the public demanded. He abused the facility which at times suggested to him melodies so pure in outline, at others the merest commonplaces of phrase. He was clear, natural, often liquid. His meridional glibness invariably came to his aid when genuine inspiration was lacking; yet we find this musical eloquence more a matter of verbiage than of thought.

Rossini's influence was *nil* in Germany; it endured for half a century in France; it is still all-powerful in Italy. Meyerbeer, Verdi, the "verists," are the disciples of this school of effect at any price; by means which became increasingly coarser.

At first Rossini found to succeed him in Italy but two musi-

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cians who continued to maintain, as did Rossini himself, the tradition of the "bel canto," Bellini and Donizetti.

Vincenzo Bellini was born in Cantania, Sicily, on November 1, 1801. He died at Puteaux, near Paris, September 24, 1835. He had been a pupil of the Naples conservatoire, and had first turned his attention to church music. In 1825 his first opera, "*Adelson e Salvini*," was performed in Naples, and, the year following, a second work, "*Bianco e Fernando*," spread his reputation over all Italy; Bellini then received commissions from the Milan Scala, for which he wrote "*Il Pirata*" and "*La Straniera*" (1828), two great successes. Then he gave "*Zaira*" in Parma, "*Montecchi e Capuletti*" in Venice, and, in Milan, "*La Sonnambula*" and "*Norma*" (1831), the last his masterpiece, which created a sensation with Malibran in the title rôle. In 1833 he went to Paris, where he was much fêted, and composed "*I Puritani*" for the *Théâtre-Italien*. Bellini's melodic vein was inexhaustible, and some of his themes are remarkable for their purity, elegance, and charm. Others, however, lack power, accent, and distinction. His accompaniments shock by reason of their excessive simplicity, and an art of development in which even the simplest presentation of musical phrases is quite rudimentary.

Gaetano Donizetti was born in Bergamo, November 25, 1797. He died in the same city on April 8, 1848. He made his début in Venice in 1818, with "*Enrico, conte di Borgogna*." It was quite successful. He then took Rossini for his model, and at times imitated his formulas very adroitly. From 1822 to 1825 he wrote two or three operas a year, genuine improvisations, often very negligently carried out. His rivalry with Bellini at times forced him to work harder and with greater care; thus, in order to reply to Bellini's "*Sonnambula*," he composed his "*Anna Bolena*." In 1835 he came to Paris, and there saw performed his "*Marino Falieri*," whose success was cast in the shade by that of "*I Puritani*." Donizetti then gathered all his energies and produced his best work, "*Lucia di Lammermoor*," which was performed in Naples. In 1839, the Neapolitan censorship having forbidden his "*Poliuto*," he left for Paris in indignation, and it was then that he wrote his French

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scores, "*la Fille du Régiment*" and "*la Favorite*," which at first were not successful, but later became very popular. After that, Donizetti departed for Italy and had a number of worthless operas performed in Rome, Milan, and Vienna. He passed the last years of his life in a state of acute melancholia, deprived of part of his faculties.

Donizetti's melodic vein, flowing less freely than that of Bellini, was also less pure; he relapses only too often into vulgarity.

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Giuseppe Verdi was born October 9, 1813, at Roncole, a small village near Busseto. His father was an innkeeper. His brilliant gift for music attracted attention at an early hour, and the town of Busseto presented him with a purse to permit of his studying composition in Milan. On November 17, 1839, his first opera, "*Oberto, conte di Santo Bonifacio*," was presented without much success. His third score, however, "*Nabucodnosor*," established his reputation. But Verdi's brilliant productive period did not begin until 1851, with "*Rigoletto*" (Milan). One after another, he had "*Il Trovatore*" (Rome), and "*La Traviata*" (Venice), performed in 1853. By this time he had composed all those among his works which were destined to remain the most popular. After that, for a long time, he scored only semi-successes, notably with "*I Vespri siciliani*" (Paris, 1855), "*Un ballo in Maschera*" (1858), and "*Don Carlos*" (Paris, 1867). He endeavored to reconquer the favor of the public by modernizing his style. In doing so he drew at the same time on the traditions of French opera, more pompous than those of the Italian, and on the Wagnerian orchestration, which he endeavored to imitate; this was all that he borrowed from Wagner. These new tendencies were revealed in "*Aïda*" (1871), a work written for the inauguration of the *Théâtre-Italien* in Cairo, at the request of the Viceroy Ismael Pasha, and which brought the composer an honorarium of 100,000 francs. "*Aïda*" had a tremendous success on every European operatic stage.

Verdi in his old age produced a few other works, written at

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long intervals: in 1874 his "*Requiem*," in honor of the memory of the poet Alessandro Manzoni; in 1887, "*Otello*"; and in 1893, "*Falstaff*." In these last operas Verdi adopted the division into scenes, and exerted himself to deploy the resources of a more complex and varied expression. From this point of view "*Otello*" and "*Falstaff*" offer some very interesting pages which, at least, bear witness to the adaptability of this astonishing musician, able to renew himself when nearly eighty years of age.

Verdi never had that dominant preoccupation for the *bel canto* which marked Rossini and Bellini. He preferred to develop the effects of pathos. In this respect he may be compared to Meyerbeer; if he has less power and variety he has, on the other hand, more spontaneity, warmth, and sincerity. We might add that, like all Italians, he knew how to charm.

Beside Verdi, and in connection with him, we should mention one of his contemporaries, who was at the same time one of his friends, the poet-composer Boïto.

Arrigo Boïto, born in Padua, February 24, 1842, and who died in 1918, was as much and even more the poet as the musician. He has left a volume of verse which has been highly praised. He wrote remarkable opera books, those of Verdi's, "*Otello*" and "*Falstaff*," and those of the "*Mefistofele*" and "*Nero*," which he himself set to music.

"*Mefistofele*" was given for the first time in Milan, in 1868, nine years after Gounod's "*Faust*." Among all the musicians who have essayed Goethe's "*Faust*," Boïto is most notably the philosopher. He tries to give us and he does, in fact, give us in his musical poem, together with a certain breadth and at times a species of intellectual intoxication, the undulant and harmonious thought of Goethe. His music endeavors to rejoin the poem on the summits where the latter has its being. The ambition was noble, but Boïto lacked breath for the ascent. One is made to feel only too clearly that Boïto was not born to express himself in the language of tone, for which he has the taste without possessing the gift. He sought the effects which he did not attain with effort. He flattered himself with having avoided the well-travelled roads, and yet returns to them again

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and again. For one real discovery in detail he offers a thousand puerilities. We have essays in the thorough-composed style, fragments of fugue, then a grand *cantilena* after the manner of Rossini or Verdi, with trills, scales, *portamentos*, and organ points, more or less successful orchestral diversions, and to end his acts pompous ensembles which are often depressingly commonplace. Nevertheless, how many good intentions, at times touching, and which, despite all else, prevent his mediocre work from becoming altogether negligible, even from a strictly musical point of view, he evinces! Thus it is that we cannot help ask whether "the death of Faust" may not almost be qualified as a noble page.

* * *

Verdi turned the Italian school into a path which necessarily led it toward a new and rapid decadence. The search for moving or terrifying situations, for theatrical effects, the cult of great cries and great gestures simulating great passions, the desire to astonish by piling climax upon climax, determined the formation of the "verist" school. "Verism" assumes to relegate to the second place all preoccupation with melody, symphony and lyricism, while directly recording life by a process of powerful and rapid impressions. The principal composers who have had recourse to this magic formula are: **Leoncavallo**, born in Naples, March 8, 1858, the composer of "*I Pagliacci*" (1892), "*Chatterton*" (1896), "*la Vie de Bohème*" (1897); **Giacomo Puccini**, born in Lucca, December 23, 1858, composer of "*Manon Lescaut*" (1893), "*la Bohème*" (1896), "*La Tosca*" (1900), "*Madama Butterfly*" (1904), "*The Girl of the Golden West*" (1910), "*la Rondine*" (1917), the triptych "*Tabarro, Gianni Schicci, Sorella Beatrice*" (1921); and **Pietro Mascagni**, born in Leghorn, December 7, 1863, composer of "*Cavalleria Rusticana*" (1890), "*L'Amico Fritz*" (1891), and various other scores, most important among them, perhaps, "*Iris*" (1898), "*Isabeau*" (1911), "*Lodoletta*" (1917), and "*Il Piccolo Marat*" (1921).

In the works of these Italian musicians we invariably find the same qualities of facility and brio, placed at the service of

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a progressively less elevated art. Their composition is weak, their good taste increasingly dubious. "*Carmen*" is awkwardly imitated, without that delicacy of touch and that marvellous sense for exact nuance which characterized Bizet. They have written, to quote Hugo Riemann's apt phrase, "tragic operettas," violent and swiftly moving dramas in the music-hall or café-concert style. It is an art expressly calculated for crowds impatient of enjoyment and indifferent to the quality of their emotions.

It need surprise no one that these productions have met with universal success.

In another chapter we shall have occasion to call attention to the efforts made toward the beginning of the twentieth century by a few young musicians to lead Italian music back to those venerable traditions which have established its glory.

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CHAPTER XVI

THE REIGN OF AUBER AND OF MEYERBEER

At the beginning of the nineteenth century in France, serious opera was feeling its way. The musical tragedy had had its day; while awaiting the discovery of a new form of vocal drama, the composers turned by preference to comic opera.

Hence the comic opera, during the Empire and the Restoration, gained a new importance and favor. We might add that it changed somewhat in character as well; through its imitation of the Italian *opera buffa*, music played a more important part in it, and, owing to the influence of the Germans, notably Mozart and Weber, it became, on occasion, more serious. Mozart's melody inspired many of the musicians of this epoch, and Weber's romanticism inclined them to the choice of fantastic subjects and made "the troubadour genus" the fashion.

F. Paër (1771-1839) wrote but one French work, "*le Maître de Chapelle*" (1821), whose first act, a charming parody of the exaggerations and defects of Italian music, is still included in the repertoire. Born in Parma, at first orchestra conductor of a Venice theatre (1781), Paër established himself in Vienna in 1797, and there was subjected to Mozart's influence. In 1802 he was appointed conductor at the court of Dresden. He then went to Paris, where he conducted the orchestra of the *Théâtre-Italien* until the advent of Rossini. In 1831 he was made a member of the Academy of Fine Arts, and in 1832 director of the music of the royal chamber. With the exception of the little act already mentioned, all his works have been forgotten.

Niccolò Isouard (1777-1818), born on the island of Malta, after several of his operas had been performed in Italy, left that country in 1799 for Paris. He then wrote "*les Rendez-vous bourgeois*," "*Cendrillon*," "*Joconde*," "*Jeannot et Collin*." He was an amiable, facile, elegant composer, but very negligent, and was soon eclipsed by his rival Boïeldieu.

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Boïeldieu, born in Rouen in 1775, and who died in Paris in 1834, was the most notable representative of French comic opera from 1800 to 1830. The workmanship of his scores shows great care, though his technical studies were negligible. This musician, who could only compose while singing, found inspirations charming in their freshness and naïveté, and extremely pure in their melodic contour, melodies which at times seem much akin to those of Mozart, without the latter's depth, without his intimacy, yet with something of his spirit and lightness. To this day it is possible to reread with pleasure certain delicate and graceful pages of his "*Ma tante Aurore*" (1800), "*Jean de Paris*" (1812), "*le Nouveau seigneur du village*" (1813), "*la Fête du village voisin*" (1816), "*le Petit Chaperon rouge*" (1818), "*les Voitures versées*" (Petrograd, 1807; Paris, 1820), and "*la Dame blanche*" (1826).

Auber (1782-1871) is greatly inferior to Boïeldieu. He has wit and intellect, but little natural grace; his elegance is very artificial, and his art lacks nobility. Auber is essentially "bourgeois." Owing to his defects rather than to his qualities, this second-class musician achieved a notable success in his day and enjoyed an extraordinary reputation. He contributed more than any other to turn away the attention of the French from all music of a more serious and profound character, from any loftier art. His best-known works were "*le Maçon*" (1825), "*Fra Diavolo*" (1830), "*le Domino noir*" (1837), and "*Haydée*" (1847). In 1828 he wrote "*la Muette de Portici*" which, together with Rossini's "*Guillaume Tell*" (1829) and Meyerbeer's "*Robert le Diable*" (1831), was one of the first models of the new operatic style.

Hérold (1791-1833), born in Paris, was the son of an Alsatian, and himself had been the pupil of Philipp Emanuel Bach. At first he had but little success. Less frivolous than his rivals, he surprised by his seriousness in a form for which tradition demanded above all a quality of amiable badinage. In the end, however, he won recognition. His two best works are "*Zampa*" (1831) and the "*Prê-aux-Clercs*" (1832). Hérold had qualities of accent, of power, and a certain touching sincerity.

Adolphe Adam (1803-1856) imitates the procedure of his

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predecessors and his rivals, yet with too little distinction, wit, and spontaneity. His joy is often gross, his pleasantry heavy, his melodies cold. "*Le Postillon de Longjumeau*" (1836), which has not been performed in France for a long time, has held its place in the repertoire of the German stages. "*Le Châlet*" (1834) and "*Si j'étais roi*" (1852) are still occasionally given in Paris.

The reign of Auber, however, was already nearing its close; the comic-opera genus tends to disappear or to undergo a transformation.

Félicien David (1810-1876), the composer of "*Lalla Roukh*" and also of a descriptive symphony, "*le Désert*," was an amiable but decidedly superficial musician. **Victor Massé** (1822-1884), who wrote the "*Noces de Jeanette*" (1853), the "*Saisons*" (1855), and "*Paul et Virginie*," showed ingenuity and tenderness, without much character.

Ambroise Thomas (1811-1896), composer of the "*Caïd*" (1849), of "*Mignon*" (1866), and of "*Hamlet*" (1869), no longer belongs to the same school. His "*Caïd*" is a comic opera according to the old formula (and its tone is decidedly insincere); but "*Mignon*" already presages the half-character opera which is to supplant the comic opera.

And now we have reached the end of a genus. The French comic opera has lived. A transformation is produced in music analogous and parallel to that taking place in literature. From the literary point of view, the classics are absolutely distinct in kind: comedy and tragedy have clearly separated domains. The modern confound these genres, mingling them together; they write comic tragedies and dramas interspersed with amusing scenes. They avoid offering tableaux uniformly noble and sad, or, on the contrary, invariably joyous. The farce still lives, but without the pale of great art. Similarly, the distinction between tragedy and musical comedy is lost in an increasing degree, and the two types tend to merge into one. The musical farce, under the name of *operetta*, no longer is given on stages of the first rank. The pieces presented at the *Opéra* and those played at the *Opéra-Comique* often resembled each other in style, with regard to the subjects treated and the sentiments

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expressed. The staging and the ballets were more sumptuous at the *Opéra*, the majesty of the place itself inclined the composers to be more serious. Yet one feels that they are not quite at their ease as soon as they try to elevate the tone of their writing, and that the natural setting for their works is the *Opéra-Comique*. The half-character opera, at the same time comic and tragic, neither too noble nor too familiar, supplied the new formula which tends to establish itself in France during the last third of the nineteenth century.

This evolution in taste coincides with the end of Meyerbeer's reign. *Jacob Liebmann Beer*, called **Meyerbeer**, was born in Berlin, September 5, 1791. He was the son of a rich Jewish banker. The addition of the name Meyer to that of Beer was the condition attached to his entering into possession of an inheritance left him by a relative. Meyerbeer studied the piano with Clementi, and composition with the Abbé Vogler. Before attempting the dramatic stage, he wrote a cantata, "*Gott und die Natur*"; then his "*Jephtas Geblüde*" was performed in Dresden (1813); and that same year his "*Abimelek*" in Stuttgart. This latter opera was also played in Vienna, Prague, and Dresden (there conducted by Weber), and was given under various titles, "*Die beiden Kalifen*," "*Wirt und Gast*," and was nowhere received with much favor. Discouraged, Meyerbeer thought of giving up composition and taking up the career of a virtuoso pianist, encouraged by Hummel's advice and the applause of the public. Yet he still dreamed of the opera. Salieri told him, one day, that a knowledge of counterpoint was not sufficient, that he must learn the art of melody from the Italians.

In 1815 Meyerbeer set out for Venice. He heard Rossini's operas and took them for his models. Then he presented with success on Italian operatic stages "*Romilda e Constanza*" (1818), "*Semiramide riconosciuta*" (1819), "*Emma di Resburgo*" (1819), "*Margherita d'Angiù*" (1820), "*L'Esule di Grenata*" (1822), and "*Il crociato in Egitto*" (1824).

Thereupon he returned to Germany, where he vainly tried to have "*Das Brandenburger Thor*" performed in Berlin.

For a period of six years Meyerbeer produced no other works. This was because, within a few years' time, he had lost his

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father, had married, had had two children, and had seen them die one after the other.

In 1826 he established himself in Paris, and with his extraordinary ease of assimilation at once grasped the needs of the French musical public. He reconciled as well as he could the contradictory exigencies of Italian melody, French declamation, and German harmony, and thus developed a heterogeneous style whose eclectic diplomacy secured him the suffrages of the vulgar, the amateurs, and the musicians.

"*Robert le Diable*" (1831) and "*les Huguenots*" (1836) aroused the enthusiasm of the public. In the meantime Halévy (1799-1862) had seen his "*la Juive*" (1835) performed. The historic opera was established in France for a long time to come.

In 1842 "*les Huguenots*" was played in Berlin, and on this occasion King Friedrich Wilhelm IV appointed Meyerbeer director-general of music. Hence Meyerbeer was obliged to reside in Berlin, and it was there that he wrote his "*Feldlager in Schlesien*" (1844), which later, after many revisions, became "*l'Étoile du Nord*."

In 1838 Meyerbeer had begun his "*l'Africaine*," yet had soon interrupted his work because he was dissatisfied with Scribe's poem. He did not complete the score until much later, and the first performance did not take place until after his death (1865).

The last operas he had performed were "*le Prophète*" (Paris, 1849) and "*le Pardon de Ploërmel*." During the last years of his life, his health having become very delicate, he no longer composed. He was directing the rehearsals of "*l'Africaine*" when he died in Paris, in 1864.

Meyerbeer was able to take in his contemporaries; they were unanimous in placing him on a level with the greatest masters of the art of music. All vied with one another in acclaiming his genius. His dramatic power, his affecting pathos, in the eyes of the critics of his day, seemed extraordinary gifts, which no other dramatic composer possessed to the same degree. In reality, Meyerbeer's art is very external, an art of poses, grand gestures, and melodramatic effects. It is a coarse art. Incidentally, Meyerbeer in a very skilful manner hid the psychological poverty of his works beneath the magic attraction of

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great historical scenes which stirred up the religious or social passions of the multitude, and gave him the appearance of a great artist, a thinker as well as a musician. Yet how false and futile this ambitious paraphernalia seems to us to-day! How empty his rhetoric and his pathos sound to our ears!

Altogether, Meyerbeer's operas have no "staying" power. Despite his technical skill, the somewhat gaudy coloring of his orchestration, a certain picturesque and rather clumsy fantasy, for all the vigor of certain dramatic effects, effects too material and too violent, by the way, this art lacking elevation, poesy, and nuance was fitted only to please its own day, and disappeared with it. Meyerbeer wished to gain fame during his lifetime, at any cost. That glory which survives the tomb has not been his portion. His name is one which will be cited in history, as one mentions a date, but his works are destined to be forgotten; and the time will come when we will be surprised to think that he could have challenged the attention of all Europe.

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CHAPTER XVII

CHOPIN

When Chopin arrived in Paris toward the end of 1831, he found Auber and Rossini established there in the heyday of their success and glory. Meyerbeer had just presented his "*Robert le Diable*." For a long time to come, France was destined to be the prey of mere virtuosos, entertainers, and charlatans.

It was in this species of musical desert or, at any rate, in these surroundings which paid so little attention to any deeper and sincerer art, that one of the most marvellous geniuses of all time developed, a genius marvellous not by reason of the extent of his gifts, nor the diversity of his means of expression, but because of the incomparable quality of his inspiration, the altogether unlooked-for novelty of his inventions, his irreducible originality. His domain is a limited one, yet it is altogether his own.

Chopin had no precursors and neither has he had any disciples. He is not a link in a long chain of evolution; Beethoven, great though he may be, continues Haydn and prepares Wagner. From one of these three artists to the other the progress is uninterrupted; they speak the same language and at times use the same accent, the identical inflection. Chopin is Chopin alone. Whatever may be borrowed from him is purely external, it is no more than his mode of procedure. He has given to none that secret something which vibrates in his inner voice, and he alone has been able to speak the idiom he employs.

This does not mean to imply that his influence has been nil. On the contrary, it was considerable, yet very indirect, and, in order to discover its traces, we must read between the lines whose appearance contradicts their hidden meanings, often well-nigh inexpressible. Who can unveil, for example, the distant relationship between Debussy's "*Préludes*" and those of Chopin?

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Frédéric Chopin was born February 22, 1810, at Zelazowa, near Warsaw. His father, a native of Nancy, France, was the tutor of the Countess Skarbek's only son. His mother, Justine Krzyzanovska, was a Pole.

When eight years old Chopin had already won applause as a pianist in a public charity concert. In 1827 he began his concert tours through Europe, that of 1829 being especially brilliant and fruitful. On November 1, 1831, he left Warsaw never to return, a few days before the outbreak of the Polish Revolution, which, beginning on November 29, after initial triumphs, was stifled in blood a few months later, Poland once more relapsing under the ever-more-crushing yoke of the czar. Chopin took along a souvenir of his native land which never left him: a handful of Polish earth in a silver goblet, presented to him by his friends.

Paris, which at first, owing to the unrefined disorder of its boulevards, made a disagreeable impression on Chopin, finally established a hold over him when he came to know its *salons* and social life. He was welcomed in aristocratic circles with an impassioned interest addressed at the same time to the extraordinary virtuoso, the delightful composer, and the captivating Pole, born for all the graces, the artifices, the studied refinements of one of the most polished societies in the world, which he succeeded in conquering without effort. In Paris Chopin soon became one of the arbiters of fashion, always appeared in white kids, and dressed with studied elegance, heedful of the minutest details of masculine adornment, from his choice of jewels to the selection of his cravats and canes.

After his unsuccessful marriage with Marie Wodzinska, which grieved him profoundly, Chopin made the acquaintance of George Sand (Mme. Dudevant), and a *liaison* developed between these two beings so little calculated to understand and to love each other. It was a singular union, of which it is impossible to say that it excluded all real affection; yet in which neither of the two artists was able to enter into that which constituted the distinctive originality of the other. This union lasted ten years.

It was after a stay in the Balearic Isles (winter of 1838-39),

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where George Sand (together with her fifteen-year-old son, whose health worried her) had taken Chopin, already suffering greatly from the disease to which he owed his premature end, that their life in common was organized.

Upon their return to France, they lived now in Paris, now in Nohant, amid the artistic circles with which the woman writer liked to surround herself, and from which Chopin isolated himself voluntarily. In no wise did he react to the influence of the literary men, the painters, the historians, the politicians with whom he found himself associated. He took but little interest in their ideas and their works. Withdrawn within himself, he was sufficient unto himself, and his genius stood in no need of extraneous alimentation. He was, besides, neither reflective nor curious by nature. His imagination contented itself with developing the themes supplied by his own very vivid sensibility—a sensibility in which sensation, emotion, all immediate states of being devoid of complex elaboration played the greatest part.

A disagreement which took place in 1847 between George Sand and Chopin soon determined the definite rupture which long had been preparing. Little by little George Sand had withdrawn from him whom she formerly had called her “dear sick man”; she had wearied of playing the rôle of a “sister of charity,” one she had at first accepted with enthusiasm.

Chopin’s malady made terrific progress. The two last years of his existence were merely one long agony. The laryngeal phthisis which had undermined him carried him off at last on October 17, 1849, at four o’clock in the morning.

His funeral took place on October 30. Chopin was buried in the Père-Lachaise cemetery, beside Bellini. “A friendly hand,” says Count Wodzinski, “cast on his bier a little of that natal earth he had brought with him some twenty years before as a souvenir of his absent fatherland, and the heart of this son who had loved Poland with so ardent and enduring a love was restored to the land of his birth.”

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Chopin had learned the piano practically through his own efforts. He was an admirable pianist. The value of his play-

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ing lay in its finish of detail, its delicacy of nuance, its expressive charm; he lacked power. He was often reproached with lacking the sonority strong enough to fill the large concert-halls. And he loved above all things to play for an intimate circle. He was well aware that he did not produce the irresistible effect of a Liszt on the great public, and in this respect, he envied his rival.

Chopin wrote only for the piano. The occasional pages which, in his considerable collective output, had another destination, are negligible. And it may be said that, together with Schumann and Liszt, and to an even greater extent than these two artists, he is the veritable creator of the piano style.

Haydn and Mozart had composed for the clavecin. Beethoven, when he confided his inspirations to the piano, thought in first instance of orchestral effect; and from this point Liszt's compositions often resemble those of Beethoven. Schumann also, at times, employs the instrumental procedure of the string quartet in his piano music.

Chopin thinks only of the piano, strives to develop only piano effects and, at the most, one might point out, here and there, the influence exerted on his technic by his predilection for one other instrument besides the piano, the violoncello.

Chopin wrote no *sonatas* in the manner of Haydn, Mozart, or Beethoven; when he wrote sonatas it was in a form that has nothing classic about it.

Nor did he compose little characteristic pieces in an elegant and spirited style, after the fashion of the older clavecinists.

Chopin wrote dances: *waltzes*, *mazurkas*, *polonaises*, or else compositions of pure fantasy: *préludes*, *impromptus*, *ballads*, *nocturnes*, or finally, *études*.

His dances, however, are not those of the old *régime*, always more or less measured and bounded. They are dominated by sentiment, by feeling. They are passionate dances, not merely dances vivacious, externally graceful, noble, and harmonious in attitude. His are romantic dances. In them are expressed all the human emotions: joy, suffering, resignation, tenderness, melancholy, love, pride, anger, and even the most heroic accents of an outraged patriotism.

Chopin's writing is never polyphonic. It is always "accompanied melody."

Chopin's melody has its origin in the recollections he brought with him from Poland, in the folk-songs and dances of his native land. Yet these, for him, represent not so much material, as opportunities for the development of an altogether personal inspiration. His long and very ornate melodic phrase often has a vocal character. It hovers indefinitely, with all sorts of turns and returns, and only reluctantly comes to an end.

Perhaps this betrays the effect of an Italian influence, or at any rate, hints at a curious meeting of temperaments analogous in certain respects.* Élie Poirée has very truly said: "This passionate, delirious movement, which the Italians instinctively realize with their warm and sonorous voices, which we encounter again and again in all the operas, in the modern lyric drama, even in the Wagnerian drama, this aggrandized melody, this conclusion invariably announced yet ceaselessly retarded, so different from that of the classic composers who, at the end of their phrases, make their bow modestly and with ceremony, all these new, theatrical forms Chopin was one of the first to employ in pure music."

Ornaments play a decidedly important part in Chopin's melody, and these ornaments are of a kind altogether novel. They differ greatly from the classic ornaments, very short in duration, and closely grouped about the note to be ornamented. Chopin's ornaments, in rapid and supple flight, often run to the end of the keyboard to return again to their point of departure. They are presented in the guise of a quantity of extraordinarily diverse features, and they never seem to interrupt the melody, but to form part of it. Their brilliance, their ingratiating variety delight the ear, yet do not distract its attention from that which always remains essential: the melodic line and expression.

These characteristics of Chopin are entirely his own, and in

* We might call attention, in this connection, to Chopin's meeting (1835) with Bellini, with whom he was on so intimate a footing of friendship. Chopin wept with emotion while listening to the arias, then so famous, from "*Norma*" and "*I Puritani*."

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this connection he has introduced a number of novelties in piano music: double-note passages in different intervals, octave passages, capricious passages in which passing notes altogether foreign to the tonality are introduced. In his music we are far from the passage in the classic style which, in most cases, was confined to the presentation of the scale itself in various fragments or sections.

Chopin's "accompaniments" are notable both for their detailed choice of harmonies, and the arrangement of the subtly worked-out designs into which the harmonies are translated.

His is no longer the classic harmony, so exclusively tonal; the chromatic progression is noticeable in the bass or in the intermediate parts, when not in the melody itself. The apoggiaturas, the passing notes, and dissonances are multiplied, and the individual savor of a chord in Chopin's music may assume expressive interest intense to a degree which before Chopin it would not have been thought that harmony, reduced to its own resources, could have supplied.

Chopin's harmonies at times, though not very often, are realized in chords solidly laid down, whose arrangement ordinarily shows far more breadth than in the past. The condensed grouping of former times is no longer in evidence. The fingers are spread. They include the "tenth" by preference. In most cases Chopin prefers arpeggios to chords, arpeggios and all kinds of varied figuration designs which envelop the melody and enrich the harmony by means other than the traditional "broken-chord figures," and the few stereotype designs whose exclusive use made the accompaniments of the classic school so monotonous. The result of this procedure was a unity, a suppleness, and a mellowness hitherto unknown.

"It is to him," said one of Chopin's most faithful friends, the painter Delacroix, "it is to him that we owe that extension of chords, either solidly applied, in arpeggios or in broken-chord form, those chromatic and enharmonic sinuosities of which his *études* offer such striking examples; those little groups of super-added notes falling from above the melodic figure in order to diaper it like a shower of dew, and whose model hitherto was only to be found in the *fioriture* of the ancient grand school of

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Italian song. Extending the boundaries which none had overstepped before him, he gave this type of ornamentation a quality of the unexpected and a variety of which the human voice did not permit."

Chopin's rhythms in nearly all cases are strongly marked, often very powerful, yet at the same time infinitely elastic and free. The classic rigor no longer is maintained, and the *rubato* in this music takes on an importance which, for all that it must not be exaggerated, it would be ridiculous to deny.

Chopin is a romanticist, but not a revolutionary. Like Schubert and Schumann, he respects tradition. If he invents, if he creates new things, it is never with the deliberate intention of breaking with the past. He has none of Liszt's audacity.

With respect to romanticism, he has that exaltation and, at times, to be candid, that affectation which results from an exaggerated complaisance with regard to one's self. He is enchanted with his own inspiration, dwells upon and repeats it, prolonging it beyond the limit spontaneously set in the beginning. He seems to dread seeing the miracle cease, and the ecstasy come to an end. He would preferably never again descend to earth, and there is something a trifle forced and artificial in this tension tending to an infinity of artistic enjoyment.

If at times we find traces of affectation, of inflation in Chopin's style; it is a defect which, in his case, is its own excuse, so naïvely is it revealed. Chopin always follows his instinct, even when he passes slightly beyond the limits of sincerity. His art ignores all cunning premeditations.

At times he grows finical, and one feels that he is addressing himself too particularly to the public of those *salons* in which he was spoiled, acclaimed, and worshipped. Yet even in this case he is following a natural trend of his character, and, though the graces he employs may be all too facile, they are used not so much to please others, but because they are familiar to him, and he enjoys them himself.

Even then he never foregoes a certain racial distinction which prevents him from stooping to an excess of affectation or to unworthy platitudes.

This genius, essentially an improvisator, was ignorant of sci-

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entific structural laws and in no wise an architect. We must not ask him to develop a theme. He only knew how to present it, enveloped in the most enchanting embellishments. An original idea once enunciated, he passed to another, then returned to the first; yet without ever employing these different elements, simply juxtaposed, in any combination. Fortunately, the individual power of each musical idea suffices to assure the life of his most extended tonal poems, although their process of composition be sufficiently rudimentary, and even somewhat monotonous. And it should be said that in Chopin's case each idea, each melodic motive, takes on such an extension, such a development, that the simple exposition in which he presents it in itself suffices to fill a large frame.

Incidentally, we need not be surprised to find that Chopin's most perfect works are his shortest ones, as for instance those extraordinary "*Préludes*" which he wrote, no doubt, when about twenty, at the same time he composed his first book of "*Études*." Never, in a few lines, has any musician succeeded in voicing for us impressions of an emotion more intense, of a poesy more penetrant.

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CHAPTER XVIII

BERLIOZ

Hector-Louis Berlioz was born in Côte-Saint-André (Isère), on December 11, 1805. His parents were not musicians, and there was very little musical about his surroundings: not a single piano was to be found in Côte-Saint-André. At the age of twelve he had already composed romances and quintets, whose themes he later employed in the overture to the "*Francs-Juges*" and in his "*Symphonie fantastique*." His family did not wish him to become a musician, and he was sent to Paris to study medicine. Yet he went to the opera, was set afire with enthusiasm by Gluck, and allowed himself to be carried away by his vocation. He entered into relations with Lesueur, became a pupil at the Conservatoire, wrote the "*Francs-Juges*" (1827), the "*Huit Scènes de Faust*" (1828), which were to become the most characteristic pages of his "*Damnation*," and finally, his "*Symphonie fantastique*" (*Episodes from the Life of an Artist*) in 1830. Thus, quite suddenly, at the age of twenty-two or three, Berlioz committed himself definitely to a musical career, and from the very start produced some of his masterworks. He had scarcely had time to learn the rudiments of his art.

He never, perhaps, applied himself very seriously to the technical study of music. His teacher, **Lesueur** himself, possessed less science and skill than he did imagination, and the principal object of the lessons he gave Berlioz was to turn the latter's attention to descriptive music and the programmatic symphony. Lesueur, a little before 1789, had composed mass-oratorios, species of musical tableaux, set down in bold and violent lines, whose novelty scandalized people. On the 1st Vendémiaire of the Year IX, he had written for the Temple of Mars (the Chapel of the *Invalides*), a chant for four choruses and four orchestras, abounding in effects of timbre, color, and dynamic contrast. Yet Lesueur was not a genius.

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In 1830 Berlioz for the fourth time competed for the Roman Prize, and on this occasion finally obtained it. He brought back with him as a result of his Italian sojourn the overture to his "*Roi Lear*" and "*Lelio, or the Return to Life*." He then undertook to conquer Paris with his works, as well as by his multiple efforts in their behalf; by the spectacle of a harassed fantastic life, none of whose details he kept from the public; and finally by his articles in the journals and reviews. He soon attached himself to the *Journal des Débats*, and promptly established a reputation as a biting and clever writer, the while his musical genius was increasingly misunderstood.

At first Berlioz, as regards the public (1828-1830), had scored an enthusiastic success; it was one he never again duplicated. The performances of the Conservatoire pupils, under the empire; the *Concerts spirituels* resumed in 1815; the *séances* of the young *Société des concerts du Conservatoire*, instituted in 1828 under the direction of **Habeneck**, and devoted in part to the execution of the Beethoven symphonies; and the activities of the musicologists **Choron** and **Fétis**, had sustained the ardor and curiosity of the public up to the time when Berlioz had his first works performed. Yet later, no doubt owing to the depressing influence of Meyerbeer, Auber, and their colleagues, musical taste seemed lost in France. "*Harold en Italie*" (1834) and the "*Requiem*" (1837) only won an external success, owing to the zeal of a few friends. "*Benvenuto Cellini*" (1838) was hissed. "*Romeo et Juliette*" (1839) scored only a passing triumph, which Berlioz had prepared beforehand by powerful advertising. As to the "*Symphonie funèbre et triomphale*" (1840), composed for the inauguration of the "July Column," it was neither listened to nor heard, and was lost in the midst of the clamors aroused by political passion. The "*Damnation de Faust*" (1846), was not even discussed. In vain Berlioz sought a little alleviation in his tours abroad, in Germany (1843), in Austria (1845), in Russia (1845). In Russia, especially, it is a matter of common knowledge that he was better understood than in France. Yet to what end? Every day he felt his isolation a little more keenly; his courage left him. "I feel so old, so weary, so bare of illusion!" he wrote in 1848. Though he

still composes, it is no longer with the same ardor; he has lost faith in his art, in his genius; he questions his work. In "*l'Enfance du Christ*" (1850-1854), in his "*les Troyens*" (1855-1863), and in his "*Béatrice et Bénédict*" (1862), the inner flame is wanting, the burning passion of youth is absent. The artist has grown greater, perhaps, he has gained in mastery; but the man, vanquished by destiny, has abdicated. He completes the task he has begun as a matter of habit, without enthusiasm, without love, without pride, without hope.

Berlioz's emotional life was as lamentably sad as was his artistic existence. When quite young he had fallen in love with an English actress, Harriet Smithson, who played Shakespeare's *Juliette*. It came as a thunderbolt, a tremendous outburst of passion. Yet Miss Smithson would have none of him. Then Berlioz gave ear to the most wretched calumnies circulated about her, and revenged himself by the odious portrait of his well-beloved which he offered the public in his "*Symphonie fantastique*." Later, he married this same Harriet Smithson, when she was old and deeply in debt. He soon realized, however, that he did not understand her, and she in no wise responded to the image of his own imagination, which he adored. He abandoned her for a wretched Spanish singer, Maria Recio, who covered him with ridicule by obliging him to seek engagements and secure parts for her to play which seemed worthy of her. Yet he loved this woman and thus enjoyed a relative kind of happiness. But now death successively removed his father, his mother, his sisters, Harriet Smithson, Maria Recio, and his son. Berlioz was alone. "That inexorable need of affection which is killing him," no longer has an object to which to address itself. He awaits his own turn, in the boredom and vacuity of an existence without aim or a sustaining principle. There is no faith to afford him consolation. He calls on death as the liberator of nothingness, and at the same time dreads his approach, which chills him with terror. He was finally released on March 8, 1869.

It has been said that Berlioz played a part, attitudinized, that he knew admirably well how to write and give publicity to the romance of his life. It is certain that Berlioz's *Mémoires*

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contain exaggerations, and even decidedly fantastic inventions. The cold reasoning of a positive mind can never grasp the illusions of a passionate imagination: its mad errors of sentiment are set down as falsehoods. Yet how many pages in the *Mémoires* are there as well which speak with an accent of that sincerity which does not deceive. Be it admitted that Berlioz has seen the events of his own life in a false perspective, that he is a poor judge of men and events. In any event, he did not deceive himself, he could not deceive himself nor deceive us when he painted his own poignant distress in terms so exact and so moving:

"Chance," Berlioz has said somewhere, "was the god who played so great a part in my life!" In fact, Berlioz was not the master of his fate; he abandoned his existence to every caprice of chance and passion. The expression of his features, his blue eyes, framed in red hair, suggested will-power. Yet we should make no mistake: the fold of his mouth, the hardness of his glance betrayed bitterness, disgust, disdain rather than actual will power; it was the stiffness of a timid soul which has been wounded. Berlioz may have attitudinized, but he never possessed a strong character.

Nor do Berlioz's works reveal an organizing will any more than his life. They lack unity; they contradict each other. For what did he strive? What was his ideal? He does not know himself; he writes as the chance of circumstance and the sentiment of the moment may dictate. Thus, to those who seek to define him, he appears an enigma. He had not explained himself; he did not commentate his art at length as Wagner did, or, if at times he does attempt to analyze it, he deceives himself and conveys a false impression. He was never able to make his music clear to the public or to lead the latter.

Related to the French symphonists of the end of the eighteenth century and the Revolutionary period, to Gossec, Calvière, Dauvergne, Lesueur, Méhul, as regards descriptive intent, the search for tonal color effects and the desire to astonish, he at first flings himself body and soul into romanticism, and becomes more romantic than any of the artists of his day—the poets, novelists, dramatists, painters, or musicians. Yet

his admiration for Gluck, his feeling for the beauty of antiquity, his cult of Virgil, lead him back to the classic style and, from a romanticism at times most extravagant, he passes in "*les Troyens*" to the most restrained and serene linear nobility and purity in musical art. Never, incidentally, does he absolutely perfect a work in every part. In many places one senses his failing will-power. In such instances he has recourse to the first convenient artifice in order to disguise his weakness.

What Berlioz lacked was the having been born in another age. Terrible was the fate which compelled a composer to spend his whole artistic life in France between 1827 and 1869. What models were offered him? Meyerbeer and Auber! What public listened to him? The same which applauded "*Robert le Diable*" and "*Fra Diavolo*." Even if he wished to develop the opposite of the artistic ideas then in fashion, if he wished to turn his back on the triumphators of the day, he could find no guide, chance alone determined his wanderings. The vague theories of poor Lesueur, his teacher at the Conservatoire, were not calculated to help him out. What did Berlioz learn from him? Everything save music. Yet it was not a question of philosophizing on the ultimate aims of art. First of all it was necessary to have a knowledge of harmony, counterpoint, and composition, which later might be forgotten when the student had learned to create new things.

It is fortunate, nevertheless, that Berlioz was able to become acquainted with Gluck's operas, and that he heard the first Paris performances of the Beethoven symphonies. Yet all that he retained of these works was their reverberation in his own passionate soul, his own emotion when listening to them. He did not study them minutely, he did not patiently analyze their development in detail. He wished to produce the same effects, yet without having the same means at his disposal. All he noticed were the orchestral sonorities. He did not grasp the secret of their harmonious, balanced composition, which supports, develops, and enriches the initial inspiration. The loveliest inventions in the world, when reduced to the flash of genius which has discovered them, are no more than material out of which the work itself is constructed. Berlioz did not

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know how to construct. He pushed to its extremest limits the theory of romanticism which holds that the exaltation of passion suffices to give birth to the masterpiece. He did not sufficiently cultivate the musician within himself.

The fault is not merely one of his own day and time; it was also due, no doubt, to himself and to his character. Berlioz lacked "craftsmanship." Yet could he have acquired it? Technical skill is a gift like any other. With due respect for proportion, Berlioz sometimes suggests a comparison with that great blunderer Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who, having with great difficulty learned his notes, thought himself qualified to compose, because tears filled his eyes whenever he spoke of music. There are other half musicians of this kind.

It must be thoroughly understood that from the musical point of view an abyss yawns between Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Berlioz. Yet, when all is said, Berlioz had no special gift for harmonic and polyphonic combination. And for this reason he did not invent a new musical idiom. This great romanticist did not contribute, like Schumann, Chopin, and Liszt, to create a language of romanticism. Very often he speaks the language of Gluck or that of Beethoven.*

Berlioz did possess a gift for the combination of timbres, of tone colors. The richness and the variety of his orchestral coloring, and the prodigious virtuosity with which he handled the orchestral resources cannot be overpraised.

He has also the gift of melody. At every moment he adapts the curve of his melodic line as exactly as possible to the object in view or the sentiment to be expressed. He does not try to construct it in accordance with the exigencies of a predetermined architecture. His themes are absolutely original in design.

His defects have made many musicians dislike him, while his qualities have caused him to appeal to the crowd. The first reproach him with his harmonic poverty, his impotence in the matter of development, the desultoriness of a musical style

* Much could be said under this head with regard to the question, and in connection with it a study by M. Kœchlin, on "Berlioz harmonist," published in the *Révue musicale* (Feb., 1922), may be read with profit.

whose themes are interconnected only by literary ideas. Yet the people listen to this voice which speaks to them so simply, so directly, so without rhetoric. "Look for your fifths and leave us in peace," said Schumann; and Wagner admired in Berlioz "his knowing how to write compositions altogether popular in the loftiest sense of the word."

Berlioz's art either pleases or displeases strongly, and not alone because of its forms, but also by reason of its expressive content. Berlioz was passion personified; yet his passion was that of the head, of the imagination, of temperament, not of the heart. There is no kindness in his works, no generosity. On the other hand, one may savor in them the joys of a terrible pessimism, and admire a soul which bears within itself the most intimidating powers of hatred.

Berlioz's emotions always exteriorize themselves in gestures, cries, actions. They do not concentrate themselves like those of the great Teutons. His art has an objective character as opposed to the inwardness of that of a Wagner or Beethoven. All the beings he creates in his imagination detach themselves from him, and lead an independent existence, even when they are no more than the image of himself. The Teutons, on the contrary, have a tendency to merge the whole universe in their inner life. Berlioz is essentially a Latin artist.

Yet the very individual traits of his personality isolate him, not only in his own land and during his own time, but in the history of art collectively speaking as well. He created musical emotions of an absolutely novel order, which seem destined to remain unique. Whatever Berlioz's influence upon all those composers who have followed him may be, no matter how extraordinary a number of discoveries he has leagued to posterity, it is certain, nevertheless, that neither in France nor abroad any musician, properly speaking, has imitated him, none resembles him, and none suggests him.

In the history of music in general, and in the history of French music in particular—as well as in his life—Berlioz appears as a unique figure, without precursors and without followers, one standing outside the pale of tradition, a stranger, well-nigh monstrous, in turn commonplace and sublime.

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CHAPTER XIX

RICHARD WAGNER

Up to Richard Wagner's time opera composers had hesitated between two conceptions of the musical drama: either, like the Florentines, *Peri* and *Caccini*, like the Frenchmen, *Lully* and *Rameau*, and like *Gluck* as well, they entirely subordinated music to the drama; or else, like *Scarlatti* and his school, they forgot the drama and thought only of the music. *Monteverde*, perhaps, was the only one who, through a stroke of genius, had realized an intimate union between the two arts. What constitutes Wagner's originality is that, being at the same time poet and musician—and a thinker as well—he clearly grasped the problem to be solved and sought the conditions governing a complete fusion of all the elements which come into play on the musical stage.

On the one hand, he observed that the character of *dramatic poetry* is to depict the human passions, not directly in their most intimate essence, but through the intermediary of *language*, which addresses itself in first instance to *reason*, and which is only secondarily translated into *emotions*.

On the other hand, music was for him *the immediate expression of sentiment*. There, at the intermediary point, heart speaks to heart.

In order that a union might be possible between poetry and music, it was necessary that poetry set aside all that which, in her case, was of a purely *intellectual* order, the recital of facts having no sentimental meaning, of exterior events impossible of translation into emotions. Hence the musical drama must be above all a psychological one: its object being *the eternally human*. Nevertheless, the conditions necessary for scenic action have to be well collated; the situations or the *individuals* who are struggling with *events* must be properly described, and all this falls into the intellectual category. Care must be taken,

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at any rate, to consider above all in the *individuals*, that which they possess in common with other men and women; one must try to disengage the general type of which they are a particular realization; each one of them should represent a dominating sentiment, some characteristic aspect of human nature. As to the *events*, the least possible number of these should be introduced into the musical drama, only those justifying admittance which possess a symbolic value, that is to say, those which, in the guise of a simple fact, are the transparent expression of a psychological *law*.

Thus the musical drama is of necessity *symbolic* and *philosophic*. Not that the poet should take abstract conceptions as his point of departure, in order to try to lend them vitality by constructing symbols which concretely translate them. This mode of procedure is too artificial. The poet is the "seer," who divines the meaning hidden in the concrete reality, the symbol which it covers, the metaphysic thought it reveals. He leaves the sentient world in order to seek that of ideas. He does not descend from vain ideas to actual things in the insensate hope of building a world of his dreams.

In Richard Wagner the knowledge of the processes and the actual nature of his art was present in so high a degree, that he was accused of being a mere theoretician, who cloaked the poverty of his inspiration with the richness of his science and his philosophy. Yet the fact is that Wagner, far from having constructed his works out of preconceived ideas, on the contrary, discovered his own æsthetic system through the analysis of his own works. First he created, and afterward he came to know that which he had created. That work in which he seems to have made the most exact application of his theories is notably the one which he wrote with the greatest amount of freedom: "One may," he himself says, "appreciate '*Tristan*' according to the most rigorous rules derived from our theoretic affirmations: not that I had modelled it on my system—for at the time I had radically forgotten all theory—but because at that moment I had finally begun to move with the most sovereign independence, detached from every theoretic preoccupation, happy to feel, while I was composing, how greatly my flight

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exceeded the limits of my system." It is by studying the life and above all the genius of Wagner, that we are able to account to ourselves for the preponderant rôle which intuition played in the formation of his art and his philosophy.

Richard Wagner was born in Leipsic, May 22, 1813. His father, a police clerk, died six months after his birth. A little later his mother remarried, in Dresden, her second husband being the actor, dramatic poet, and painter Ludwig Geyer, who in turn died in 1820. Wagner followed the classic curriculum of study with brilliant success, and his teachers destined him for a career as a philologist. Yet he thought in first instance of poetry and the drama, and then of music. In 1833, he wrote "*Die Feen*," which he could not manage to get performed. In 1834, he was appointed director of the Magdeburg Theatre, and composed "*Das Liebesverbot*" ("*The Prohibition to Love*"), a very free adaptation of Shakespeare's "*Measure for Measure*," which was performed in 1839 without much success. He then married an actress, Minna Planer. After remaining a short time at the Königsberg Theatre, he spent two years (1837-1839), as orchestra conductor of the Riga Theatre. It was there that he began to compose "*Rienzi*."

Such were the principal events of Wagner's youth. It is enough to enumerate them rapidly; for it is not the detail of his exterior life which interests us, but the slow and rich development of the inner man.

Wagner certainly owed something to his seventeenth and eighteenth century ancestors, Saxon schoolmasters, born of the people and living with the people, at the same time institutors, pastors, organists, and music teachers—educators from every point of view. From them Wagner inherited that quality of moralizing solicitude which we find in all his works.

From the beginning of his life Wagner was subjected to all sorts of divers influences. His father-in-law wished to have him study painting. Yet he grew weary of "drawing eyes indefinitely." He was surrounded only by theatrical people. His sister Rosalie made her début at fifteen; his sisters Clara and Louise were also actresses; his brother, too, abandoned the study of medicine in order to become a comedian, and of his

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Two daughters one, Johanna, was later destined to sing *Elizabeth* in "*Tannhäuser*" admirably. Wagner knew his way about the stage at an early hour. At the same time he himself had no leanings toward an actor's career. Yet at first he dreamed of writing dramas. When thirteen, after having translated the first twelve chants of the *Odyssey*, and become an enthusiastic admirer of Shakespeare, he outlined a tragedy in which forty-two persons died in succession, and then reappeared as ghosts in order not to leave the stage deserted before the end of the play. His musical vocation did not show itself until very late, and he never attained virtuosity on any instrument. "Throughout all my life," said he, "I never learned to play the piano."

Weber and Beethoven revealed music to Wagner. Since 1817 Weber had been the conductor of the Dresden Opera, and Ludwig Geyer was one of his most enthusiastic partisans. Young Wagner became one as well. After having heard the first performances of the "*Freischütz*," he murdered the overture at the piano. And twenty years later, when he heard the "*Freischütz*" at the Paris *Opéra*, he cried: "Ah! my wonderful German fatherland, how I love you, how I cherish you, though only because the '*Freischütz*' was born on your soil! How I love the German people who love the '*Freischütz*' and who, even to-day, believe in the marvels of the most naïve legends; who, even to-day, though having reached the age of virility, still react to those sweet and mysterious terrors which thrilled their hearts in the days of their youth! O charming German reveries, reveries of the woods, of the evening, of the stars, the moon, the village church-tower from which the curfew-bell chimes! How happy is the man who is able to understand you, to believe, feel, dream, and exalt himself together with you!"

In 1827, at Leipsic, Wagner heard the symphonies of Beethoven—who had just died—at the *Gewandhaus* concerts. He experienced a profound emotion. And, suddenly, he set to work to compose a sonata, a quartet, a grand aria, without the faintest knowledge of harmony. He soon realized his ignorance, and took a few lessons from a teacher who merely succeeded in quickly disgusting him with the arid study of the

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chords. He again abandoned theory, and composed a rather dishevelled overture which was performed in 1830, but of which not a trace remains. Returning to harmony, he covered it in its entirety as well as counterpoint, in the course of six months, under the guidance of Theodore Weinlig. He then composed a sonata, a polonaise, a fantasy for piano, some overtures, two symphonies, and finally, in 1833, his opera, "*Die Feen*," which was not staged, but some fragments of which were presented in concert form. The subject of this youthful work already presaged that of "*Lohengrin*," for the fairy *Ada* is metamorphosed into a statue because the mortal *Arindal* is weak enough to doubt his beloved for a moment.

The years Wagner passed at Magdeburg, Königsberg, and Riga were onerous years. His duties as an orchestra leader were taxing and unrewarding. Wagner was often in want at this time, especially after his marriage. He was feeling his way. The revolutionary ideas of 1830 first aroused his enthusiasm, and, applying them to his art, he declared war on tradition and scholastic subtlety, and no longer acknowledged anything but the free melody of the Italians, whose type he found in Bellini's "*Norma*." "Song, song and still more song," he cried, "Germans that you are!" Yet he may have noticed that he went too far in his admiration of the Italians, for he adds: "One must belong to one's own day, find new forms suited to the new times. The master who does this will write neither in the Italian nor in the French style—nor yet in the German." It was under the influence of these ideas that he wrote his "*Liebesverbot*." He even sought a subject for a comic opera; yet he called a halt. He realized that he would stray were he to follow the road of "easy music." Then, in 1838, he undertook a work of greater length, "*Rienzi*," without giving thought to its time of completion or place of performance.

"*Rienzi*" is a type of the pure and heroic tribune who wishes to deliver the Roman people from the yoke of the nobility, and who in the end is himself abandoned in a cowardly manner by the people he wished to deliver. At the moment Wagner was under the influence of the "historical opera," which was triumphing in Paris: "*Guillaume Tell*," by *Rossini*, dates from 1829,

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"*la Muette*," by *Auber*, from 1828, "*Robert le Diable*," by *Meyerbeer*, from 1831, "*les Huguenots*," from 1836, and "*la Juive*," by *Halévy*, from 1835. As Wagner said later: "I saw the subject of my '*Rienzi*' through the *Grand Opéra* opera-glasses," that is to say, as a spectacle production in five acts, with large ensembles, hymns, processions, military scenes, ballets, great arias and duos written in a style consistently pompous and oratorical. Whatever are the weaknesses of this work, which the composer later qualified as a "sin of his youth," one feels that Wagner was sincerely preoccupied with his conception of the figure of *Rienzi*, "with the lofty thoughts which thronged in his head and heart," whose tragic destiny "made his every nerve vibrate in sympathy."

After "*Rienzi*," Wagner definitely abandoned the historic drama (though later he did think of a "*Manfred*" and a "*Friederich Barbarossa*"). This was because he realized that the historic drama is not essentially musical. Though it offers opportunities for the expression of noble sentiments which are "purely human," it presents their development in too specialized a framework. The life and picturesque features of an epoch, its manners and morals, the prejudice of a certain time and a certain land, all these cannot be musically presented. And thus it is a question of either eliminating all these contingencies, in which case the interest properly known as historic vanishes, or else of encumbering the score with interminable recitations devoid of any actual musical interest.

In 1839 a new period began in Wagner's life. Driven from Riga by a rival's intrigues, he took the road to France, bringing with him his sketch of "*Rienzi*," which he hoped to have performed at the Paris *Opéra*.

He reached Paris together with his wife Minna and a magnificent Newfoundland dog, but without any money. Meyerbeer gave him some recommendations, introduced him, and patronized him. Wagner composed romances for the *salons*, romances which were not understood. He wished to have his "*Liebesverbot*" performed at the Renaissance, and at that moment the Renaissance went bankrupt (1840). He offered to write the music for a vaudeville by Dumanoir, the "*Descente de*

la Courtille"; but even this purely scenic task was not intrusted to him. He presented the scenario of his own opera "*Der Fliegende Holländer*" ("The Flying Dutchman"), to the director of the *Opéra*. The subject aroused the director's enthusiasm, and for 500 francs he bought the right to have it set to music—by another composer! In 1841, at a concert arranged by the music publisher Schlesinger, Wagner's overture, "*Christopher Colomb*," was played, but the orchestra was poor and the public remained indifferent. Then the blackest misery overtook Wagner. He did anything and everything to make a living; arranged operas in the fashion of the day for flute, for clarinet, for cornet; corrected music proofs; and undertook the most ungrateful collaborations for French and foreign reviews. He soon grew disgusted with Paris and its dilettanteism. His one consolation was hearing the Beethoven *symphonies*, notably the "*Choral Symphony*," conducted by Habeneck, at the Conservatoire concerts, and his mind germinated all sorts of prolific ideas: "If I were to compose an opera according to my own feelings," he wrote, "it would drive away the public, since it would contain no airs, no duos, no trios, nor any of those pieces which are stitched together nowadays, somehow or other, to make an opera; what I should like to compose I could find neither singers to sing nor a public to hear." He turned again to composition. During the winter of 1839-1840 he wrote the overture "*Faust*," and then completed "*Rienzi*" and sent his score to Dresden, where he hoped to have it performed. In 1841, at Meudon, he completed the musical outline of "*The Flying Dutchman*" in seven weeks, and at the same time received the glad tidings that his "*Rienzi*" was to be performed in Dresden. He left France April 7, 1842, and went to Germany overland (he had come to France by sea). "I saw the Rhine for the first time," he writes, "and my eyes filled with tears, I the poor artist, swore eternal fidelity to my German fatherland!"

On October 20, 1842, "*Rienzi*" was performed in Dresden with great success; on January 2, 1843, "*The Flying Dutchman*" was received with the same favor, in appearance at any rate; for in reality the public had not entered into the spirit of the

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new musical drama. Wagner was appointed conductor at the Dresden Opera with a salary of 1,500 *Talers* per annum.

The legend of "**Der Fliegender Holländer**" or the "Flying Dutchman" had its origin in the popular belief that the phantoms of vessels which have been shipwrecked "return." It came into being toward the beginning of the seventeenth century and disappeared at the commencement of the nineteenth. Heine had revived it in a fantastic recital which Wagner read in 1834. Heine told how one day an intrepid mariner, "The Flying Dutchman," swore by all the devils in hell that he would double a certain cape, despite the tempest, though he had to sail the seas till Doomsday. The devil took him at his word. One single chance of redemption was left to him. Every seventh year he could land, marry, and, if he found a woman who would keep faith with him, he would be delivered. If not, he was obliged to resume his eternal voyage. At the end of one seven years' period the Dutchman went ashore, but no girls wished to have anything to do with him. Nevertheless, one young maiden, who divined his sad destiny, took pity on him, avowed her love for him, and swore to be true to him until death. But the Dutchman repulsed her and put out to sea again. Then, in order to keep her vow, and remain faithful to him whom she loved to the last, the maiden cast herself into the waves. At the same moment the phantom vessel foundered and the soul of the Dutchman was saved.

On his sea voyage from Riga to London, Wagner, one stormy day, had thought of the old legend and, thereafter, it did not leave his mind. When he reached Paris, he built up his drama, which is developed altogether among four personages: the *Dutchman*, *Senta*, *Daland*, *Senta's* father, and *Erik*, her betrothed. No subject could be more simple; no unnecessary episode intrudes to complicate the action, which is purely an inner one. Wagner was beginning to realize his poetic ideal.

What strikes us first of all is the romantic character of the work. Wagner, with a power which neither Weber nor any of the German poets of the beginning of the nineteenth century possessed, revived the national past and its most venerable legends. He had the feeling for the elemental forces of Nature,

which he peoples with spirits and phantoms. As the "*Freischiütz*" was a poem of the forest, so "*The Flying Dutchman*" was the poem of the ocean. With its scarlet sails, its black mast, its crew of spectres, in the midst of the tempest, the accursed vessel marvellously symbolizes the religious terror of the people in the presence of the sea.

Yet that which is often lacking in the personages of the romantic drama is inner life. Thus, in the "*Freischiütz*," the decoration and the exterior drama, or "naturalistic revery," as Lichtenberger calls it, pre-empt too much space, at the expense of psychology. Wagner's heroes, on the contrary, are no mere theatrical personages, poorly outlined against a brilliant background of decoration and action. They are human beings with characters, with passions which move us. In "*The Flying Dutchman*," it is true, the physiognomies are not as yet sufficiently clean-cut; the characters at times seem enigmatic; yet the emotional drama, nevertheless, takes first place.

Already, in this first essay of Wagnerian art, we observe symbolism detach itself. Like "*Ulysses*" or the "*Wandering Jew*," "*The Flying Dutchman*" is punished for having strayed too far from his native land: his adventurous spirit is his misfortune. He must return to his hearth, or rather, he must find a hearth, though it be in the regions of the ideal. All of Wagner's heroes thus seek the road of true happiness, the meaning of life, the way of salvation. And always, in his dramas, there is a savior, a redemption through love, pity, or sacrifice. But in "*The Flying Dutchman*" the problem of redemption is presented, as yet, only in an obscure manner.

From a purely musical point of view "*The Flying Dutchman*" marks Wagner's break with the ancient operatic forms; there are no more numbers detached one from the other, and joined together as well as circumstances permit, to make a veritable Arlequin's suit, devoid of continuity and succession. The musical drama becomes a symphony built up on one or more themes, which have a poetic or dramatic signification, the *Leit-motive* ("leading motives"). In place of juxtaposing themes which are always new and different, the composer develops a small number of ideas closely linked together by the bonds of

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polyphony. "I well remember," says Wagner (in his "A Communication to My Friends"), "that before passing on to a realization, properly speaking, of '*The Flying Dutchman*,' I composed the text and the melody of *Senta's* ballad, in the second act. Unconsciously I deposited in this number the thematic germs of the entire score. It was a concentrated image of the whole drama as it outlined itself in my thoughts. . . . When, finally, I passed on to composition, the thematic image which I had conceived opened out of its own accord, like a kind of network over the whole score. And without my actually willing it, so to speak, it was sufficient for me to develop, in a sense conformable to their nature, the various themes contained in the ballad, in order to have before me, in the form of well-characterized thematic constructions, the musical image of the principal lyric situations in the work."

"*The Flying Dutchman*" scored no more than a partial success. After the triumph of the first evening, the press showed itself unfavorable, and the public at the following performances maintained an attitude of reserve. "*Rienzi*" was redemanded, and "*The Flying Dutchman*" disappeared from the announcements.

Wagner then began to write his "*Tannhäuser*." Tannhäuser was an actual historic personage, a thirteenth-century *Minnesänger*. An old folk-song tells how he went to the mountain of Venus (*Venusberg*), where he was loved by the goddess for a space of a year. Seized with remorse, however, he invoked the aid of the Virgin Mary, left the mountain, and made a pilgrimage to Rome to obtain the pardon of the Holy Father.

"In his hand the pope held a rod made of a dry branch. 'When this rod puts forth leaves,' said he, 'God will once more grant you grace.' The knight returned from the city, sad and with a grieving heart. . . . And he took his way to the mountain to remain there throughout all eternity. 'I return to Venus, my tender lady, to whom God himself sends me!' But on the third day the dry branch put forth green leaves. Then the pope sent messengers throughout every land to discover the whereabouts of Tannhäuser. But Tannhäuser had reentered

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the mountain to rejoin the lady of his heart. And for this reason, Pope Urbain is condemned to eternal damnation."

Wagner combined this legend with the famous legend of the poetic tourney at the *Wartburg*. In a mediocre poem of the thirteenth century we find an account of this curious struggle, in which the vanquished forfeited his life by the hangman's hand. Wagner made his *Tannhäuser* the *Minnesänger* who is unfortunate in the Wartburg tourney, and invented the character of *Elizabeth*, who saves the knight.

He commenced work with febrile impatience, feeling that he was destined to produce a masterpiece; he was afraid of dying before he completed the opera. At last, in 1845, the score was finished. (He revised it in 1847 and 1861.)

There are some evident analogies between "*The Flying Dutchman*" and "*Tannhäuser*." We have the same romantic stage-setting; and the idea of a redemption through love dominates the entire work. Venus represents not only love alone, but terrestrial happiness under all its forms, worldly success, and the activities which lead to that success. Yet true happiness is not of this kind: salvation lies in renunciation, of which Elizabeth gives Tannhäuser an example; for she loves Tannhäuser, is loved by him, and gives him up in order to save him.

In "*Tannhäuser*" the action is more picturesque and more dramatic than in "*The Flying Dutchman*," the dramatic personages are more vitally alive and better characterized, the inner drama is developed in a far broader and more ample manner.

The musical composition of "*Tannhäuser*" tends toward that synthetic unity which already had manifested itself to so great a degree in "*The Flying Dutchman*." Yet Wagner, as regards the modes of procedure governing the older opera, had not as yet attained that perfect independence of which he was to prove himself possessed a little later. If he concentrates on following the drama step by step, there are, nevertheless, still well-marked points of pausation in the action to make place for songs, for duos, for ensembles. His airs are not, it is true, cut after the Italian fashion, they take on an appearance frankly Wagnerian; they are nearly always long but not angular phrases,

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with very free and frequent modulations; yet always clearly outlined, and, in general, with long note values. The harmony at times remains very simple. Innovations, audacities, chromaticism appear only on occasion; for example, in the Venusberg scene. The leading motive takes on an ever-greater importance, yet without suggesting highly developed combinations and without forming the whole tissue of the work. Polyphony is almost entirely missing. A few traces of Italianism survive in this work, whose style is still hybrid, yet many of whose pages must be counted among the most poetic Wagner ever wrote.

“**Lohengrin**” soon followed “*Tannhäuser*.” The book was written in 1845, and all the music composed in a year’s time. The first performance did not take place until 1850, in Weimar, under the direction of Liszt.

According to Wagner, “*Lohengrin*” represents “the most tragic situation of our epoch,” the irremediable misunderstanding which separates the souls of the chosen from the obscure throng toward which they are propelled by the impulse of an irresistible affection. Lohengrin is Wagner himself, who feels that he is isolated and powerless in the midst of contemporary society, unintelligent and inimical. Wagner suffered from this isolation; he demanded that he be not discussed, he wished to be loved without having to declare whence he came, what he wished to do, his name and his titles. To trust and to believe, without seeking to know, such is the secret of happiness for others and for one’s self. But Wagner is not beloved and he returns to his solitude. Elsa is “the spirit of the people.” She is naïve, spontaneous, all love. Yet, just as Lohengrin, the “initiate,” turns to love, Elsa, who “loves,” turns to science, and her fatal and inevitable error is her ruin. It may be that the unhappiness of these two beings is due to the fact that Lohengrin is a sage, a proud rather than a simple spirit, a creature of instinct, like Siegfried and Parsifal. Only the inconscient are happy, and the kingdom of the skies is the inheritance of the humble.

It was at the time that he wrote “*Lohengrin*” that Wagner, perhaps, most bitterly felt his moral isolation. He had to suffer

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at the same time from the injustice of the critics, who treated him as a charlatan; the hostility of the *connoisseurs*, furious enemies of all that was new; the ill will of the Baron von Lütichau, intendant of the royal theatre, whose sole object was to thwart all his tentatives of reform at the Dresden opera; and finally, the implacable jealousy of Meyerbeer, who barred the road to Berlin against him, and prevented his works from being performed there. Wagner's pessimism rose to great heights of excitement: he accused society as a whole, he adopted the revolutionary opinions which, as a consequence of the movement of 1848, had spread through France and throughout Germany. He joined the Socialist party. He took part in a revolt and, in order to escape a judicial sentence, was obliged to flee to Switzerland, where he took refuge in Zürich.

There he abandoned politics and once more took up his art. His friends and admirers aided him to subsist. He communed with himself and began the publication of his most important theoretic writings. At this time (1848-1854), under the double influence of Feuerbach's philosophy and events at Dresden, Wagner turned atheist and became an anti-Christian. He adjudged the world evil, yet firmly hoped that the revolution would soon inaugurate a new era of universal felicity for mankind. It is to this crisis of irreligion that we owe the first conception of the "*Ring der Nibelungen*" ("The Nibelungen Trilogy").

At the same time Wagner formulated his ideas regarding art in a manner well-nigh definitive. In *Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft* (1849), and his *Oper und Drama* (1851), he developed his conception of the "popular" or "communistic" drama, which cannot be realized without the collaboration of the people. Thus, in ancient Greece, in the days of Æschylus and Sophocles, the poet was no more than the carrier of the word of the people, the genius of the race; the tragedies were performed before the people as a whole, and the people supplied the actors. All the arts, poetry, music, the dance, architecture, co-operated in a sort of religious ceremony in which beauty was made manifest to all under sensible, material, and living forms. Afterward, to their disadvantage, the arts were disassociated.

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Music owes its rhythm to the dance, its melody to poetry, in itself alone music is mere empty harmony. And, on the other hand, poetry alone no longer addresses herself to the senses, but only to the intellect, she becomes literature pure and simple, losing all her virtue. The opera vainly pretended to re-establish this union between the sister arts; in reality it made their separation absolute. "Music, to save her supremacy, concedes so many quarters-of-an-hour to the dance in which the chalk-whitened pumps of the dancers are the law of the stage, and beat time for the musicians; it is taken for granted, on the other hand, that the singer is formally prohibited from indulging in any gestures, the right of movement being reserved for the dancers alone, while the singers, in order to watch over the emission of the voice, must suppress the slightest inclination toward dramatic pantomime. Music signs a contract with poetry which is entirely satisfactory to the party of the first part: poetry shall not be used at all on the stage; an effort even will be made *not* to pronounce the lines or words, as a result of which she will be able to make her bow to the public in the guise of a libretto, which the spectator will necessarily have to consult; appearing in black and white, as out-and-out literature. Thus was concluded this Holy Alliance by means of which each art could remain herself and in which, between the ballet danced on the one hand, and the opera libretto read on the other, music could swim along, up and down, around and about as best suited her."

In order to conceive of a union of the arts under its natural form, it is sufficient to return by reflection to the primitive and spontaneous synthesis of instinct. Now, in the case of primitive man, language, song, and gesture were one. Language becoming purely abstract, purely intellectual, music by becoming purely emotional, one and the other lost their original power. The question, for the modern artist, is not that of adapting poetry to music or music to poetry; each art must follow her own laws; yet unity is obtained when poetry and music co-operate to the same end: to express *the human action*, which gesture also translates in her own way. *Music should not commentate the dramatic poem, but the drama itself.* Gluck's mistake was this very subordination of music to poetry; making

it poetry's servile, verbatim follower, modelling his melodies on the rhythms of his verses, he succeeded merely in creating a species of "musical prose." The veritable dramatic melody is the meeting-point of the effort of the poet and that of the musician. "The poet," says Wagner, "unrolls his picture above the moving surface of the musical waves, the poetic image is reflected in it, and this changing and colored reflection is the melody."

Underlying the singer's melody, the orchestra should not, as in the operas, voice a mere accompaniment, one as foreign to the melody as the melody is to the drama. The orchestra should no longer be "a gigantic guitar." It must express what song does not say, it must elucidate: (1) Gesture. (2) The psychic state of the personage whose song merely reveals to us one of its isolated elements. (3) The past and the future in their relation to the present (presentiments and recollections), and here it is that the leading motive plays a large part. The orchestra should resemble the chorus in the ancient Greek tragedy, ever present and commentating each event; it should assure the continuity, the interconnection of the parts of the work which, from beginning to end, will be "one endless melody" ("*unendliche Melodie*").

Wagner sums up his conception of the musical drama in two complementary definitions. On the one hand he regards it as "an action which has interiorized itself, and which the heart may grasp through the musical expression"; on the other, it is "a symphony which has exteriorized itself, and which has crystallized in visible and intelligible action." And he lauds Beethoven, who wished to realize those inventions in which he appeared as the dramatic poet, by means of music alone, and whose genial error opened the way for himself. No sooner had Wagner formulated his ideas with regard to the musical drama, than he undertook to give them a grandiose application in a colossal work, "**The Nibelungen Ring**," a vast trilogy, preceded by a Prologue, whose four parts, "*Das Rheingold*" ("Rhine-gold"), "*Die Walküre*" ("The Valkyrie"), "*Siegfried*," and "*Götterdämmerung*" ("The Twilight of the Gods"), were meant always to be represented on four successive evenings.

The *Trilogy* comprises a double drama: the death of the gods

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and the deliverance of humanity. The elements of the work were borrowed from old Germanic and Scandinavian legends. *Wotan*, lord of the spirits of light, is no longer content with *love*, he covets *power*, and gives up one of his eyes to gain *knowledge*. Then he rules over the world, and the giants obey his law. The dwarfs hidden in the bowels of the earth, the *Nibelungen*, pigmies who hate the light, creatures of darkness, are obedient to Wotan's strength. In seeking power, however, Wotan has not renounced love, and this is destined to be the cause of his downfall. Alberich, a dwarf of the Nibelung tribe, has cursed love in order to gain power, and has seized upon the gold of the Rhine. Of this gold he forges a ring which assures its possessor domination over the entire world. Wotan captures Alberich, and obliges the latter to turn over to him his treasure and his ring. But Alberich, desperate, lays a curse on the ring which thenceforward will bring misfortune to all who touch it. Wotan is obliged to yield the ring to the giants, to obtain in exchange the goddess Freya, whom he loves, and thenceforward he seeks only, though in vain, to regain the lost ring. In the end he realized the uselessness of his struggle against fate, and powerless to end the tragic conflict between love and the wish to dominate which rages within him, he desires only the end of that world of which he is the author and master. On the day when he learns that the accursed ring has been returned to the Rhine Maidens, the daughters of the stream, and that love once more reigns upon earth, he will unite all the divinities in Valhalla, have a gigantic pyre erected around his palace, and "smiling an eternal smile," will be swallowed up in the twilight of the gods.

One goddess, Wotan's daughter, *Brünnhilde*, renounces her divinity to unite with a hero whom she loves, a man of the Walsung race, and she and this offspring of a union between Wotan and a mortal woman, together accomplish the divine task of delivering the world from the curse of gold. Siegfried represents the omnipotence of youth and the spontaneity of nature. He is wiser than wisdom herself. He is happy because life for him is not a matter of calculation and he has no fear of death. He accepts necessity. At once and instinctively

"the child of nature" is elevated to the plane of moral perfection which Wotan was obliged to conquer at the cost of so much suffering and by the effort of his reflection. *Siegfried* and *Brünnhilde*, these two innocents, expiate and atone for Wotan's fault. The accursed ring destines them to misfortune; yet their suffering shall redeem the world, through them the reign of gold will come to an end, and the ring of the Nibelungen return to the depths of the Rhine.

This tremendous poem, whose principal characters we have presented in cursory fashion, and whose entire dramatic content we cannot stop to analyze, in itself comprises a very complex philosophy. In it Wagner in turn presents himself as a *socialist*, as when he curses gold and its fateful power, and predicts the regeneration of humanity through love; as an *anarchist*, when he condemns law and the conventions, justice founded on injustice, and makes Siegfried, the hero of freedom, a foil for Wotan, the god of contracts; as a *pagan*, when he depicts this same Siegfried as "the most perfect of men," although he only follows his instincts, is ignorant of morals, and lives without either god or law; as a *Christian*, when he admits that Brünnhilde and Siegfried may atone for the sins of Wotan through their own merit, and thus assure the redemption of mankind; as a *pessimist*, because, according to Wotan, wisdom consists in not wishing to be; and finally, as an *optimist*, since the reign of love may render life worth living. This diversity of ideas and sentiments, often antagonistic, which has inspired the *Trilogy*, may be summed up in an antinomy, a contradiction of law, present in Wagner's own nature. On the one hand, his ardent temperament, his passionate desire to live and be happy, tended to make him an optimist and a pagan. On the other, reflection turned him to pessimism, and he consoled himself with the negation of "the wish to live," and the affirmation of an ideal, a "salvation" more or less Christian in character. We should neither be astonished nor irritated by the contradictions of a philosophy essentially in a formative state, and which does not pretend to constitute a fixed system. It is the very richness and diversity of a work such as the *Trilogy* which makes its grandeur: it reveals to us the whole of man. When

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we estimate the distance traversed by Wagner in passing from "*Tannhäuser*" to the "*Ring of the Nibelungen*" from the musical point of view, it is evident that after the progress already so clearly indicated by "*Lohengrin*," Wagner had by now come into full possession of the means of expression he needed in order to realize his artistic thought. Henceforward we find no trace in his works of the methods of operatic procedure; his style is essentially personal. There are no more airs or duos, or anything resembling them; the scenes are linked without lack of continuity; music's only task is to comment the drama. The vocal phrase departs further and further from the conventional formulas of Italianism; the harmony grows richer and more complex; the polyphonic development of the leading motive lends the ensemble of the same work, or even of an entire cycle, like the *Trilogy*, the appearance of a gigantic symphony. Wagner no longer need modify his art in any way; it is sufficient for him to apply it to different ends in order to produce a variety of incomparable masterpieces.

In 1854 Wagner had completed "*The Rhinegold*" and the greater part of "*The Valkyrie*," and had written half of "*Siegfried*" as well. Yet the artistic production of these works did not suffice him. He craved contact with the public, the practical realization of his art dreams, and suffered from his inaction in exile. His dramas were produced without him, far away from him, in Germany. He was parted from his dearest friends. And he entertained no hope of being able to re-enter his own land, for reaction was triumphant in France and in Germany.

On January 15, 1854, he wrote Liszt: "Not one of these past years has gone by without, once at least, my having come face to face with the idea of the extreme solution, without my having thought of putting an end to my life. My entire existence has been destroyed and ruined. Oh, my friend! at bottom art for me is no more than an expedient which enables me to forget my distress, nothing more. . . ."

It was during that very summer of 1854 that one of Wagner's friends gave him *The World as Will and Idea*, by *Schopenhauer*. Wagner immediately adopted the doctrines of the great pessimist, so entirely in tune with his own feelings, and declared that

Schopenhauer's thought had been subconsciously present in his own mind before he, Wagner, had actually realized it; and that only now did he understand the profound meaning of his preceding works.

He believed that in the "*Nibelungen Ring*" he had written a revolutionary and optimistic cycle; in reality, the *Trilogy*, despite himself, conveyed the absolutely pessimistic conclusion that the world is irremediably evil, and that nothingness is worth more than life.

At the same time a crisis of feeling completed the upset of Wagner's soul. For a long period serious dissension had reigned between his wife Minna and himself. Minna regarded Wagner as a visionary egoist, who ruined his own life and stupidly sacrificed the happiness of a devoted helpmeet to his unrealizable political and artistic dreams. After numerous disputes, Wagner broke with her in 1851. In 1852, in Zürich, he made the acquaintance of a certain Wesendonk, and his wife, who soon became his most loyal and devoted friends. In 1857 he accepted their hospitality in the small cottage they offered him near their own villa, "Green Hill." An increasingly tender intimacy developed between Wagner and Mathilde Wesendonk; and they soon realized that a redoubtably passionate love drew them to one another. Yet they hesitated to do aught which might be base and cowardly. They decided to separate. Wagner left for Venice, after having definitely broken with Minna, who sadly rejoined her family in Saxony. Of this swift emotional tragedy one legacy is left us—"Tristan und Isolde."

In 1854 Wagner already had written Liszt: "Out of compassion for the most beautiful dream of my life, for love of young Siegfried, I must complete my '*Nibelungen*.' Seeing, however, that throughout my existence I have never tasted the joy of love in its perfection, I wish, with the fairest of all dreams, to raise a monument, compose a drama in the course of which this wish for love will be gratified to entire satiety. I have in mind the plan for a '*Tristan and Isolde*,' a work absolutely simple, yet brimming over with the most intense vitality; and I should like to wrap myself around with the folds of the sable banner which floats above its final scene and die." In 1857 Wagner

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abandoned the *Trilogy* and commenced the score of "*Tristan*" (1857-1859), partly for practical reasons, since he wished to compose a drama of smaller dimensions, which could easily be staged in Germany, but above all in order to give his heart an opportunity of pouring out all the amorous distress and despair which filled it.

Among all Wagner's dramas, "*Tristan*" conforms most closely to his artistic doctrine. The picturesque elements and the facts are reduced to a minimum; the drama is purely an inward one. Even its poetry at times ceases to have literary meaning, and become purely musical.

The fundamental idea of "*Tristan*" is that passion has imprescribable rights, superior to all law and to the judgment of man, provided it be absolute, doomed, and willing to accept death as its sole refuge. "*Tristan*" among all Wagner's works is the most passionate and disconsolate. Here we have the greatest love to which the world has given birth, and also the most frightful state of being which may be assigned to mortals. This life is accursed. One is compelled to wish for nothingness, for "night," the blindness of will. Those who are truly happy are Tristan and Isolde, reunited in death. Unfortunate is King Mark, who remains among the living!

The music of "*Tristan*" may be classed with that which is not judged, not criticised; it takes entire possession of the listener, penetrates to the very depth of his soul, possesses him and leaves him exhausted. "The world is poor indeed," says Nietzsche, "for him who has never been ill enough to savor this hellish voluptuousness."

"*Tristan*" completed, Wagner finally wished to re-establish his contact with the public; he wished to do battle with the artists, the critics, the crowd, to be in the vanguard of the strife. He left for Paris, where he managed to have his "*Tannhäuser*" accepted for performance at the *Opéra*; yet the personal intervention of the Emperor Napoleon III was necessary to dominate the ill will which opposed him. The score, thrice performed (March 13, 18, and 23, 1861), failed beneath the hisses of an odious cabal. The members of the Jockey Club, deprived of their ballet, Wagner's German rivals, headed by

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Meyerbeer, and, finally, the majority of the newspaper men, sold out to these two powerful parties, managed to make further performances an impossibility. Baudelaire, Vacquerie, Barbey d'Aurevilly, the singer Bataille, the violinist Morin, Emile Ollivier, Jules Ferry, Challemeil-Lacour, Théophile Gautier, Reyer, Catulle Mendès, Jules Janin fought for Wagner in vain. As to the Parisian public, Wagner praised its "very great receptivity and a truly generous feeling of justice."

Nevertheless, Wagner, taking advantage of an amnesty, now finally could return to Germany. He then attempted, though in vain, to have the leading German opera-houses accept his "*Tristan*"; all the managers refused it. He undertook tours in order to spread a knowledge of his works in Germany, Austria, and Russia. But soon he hardly knew where and how to act in their behalf, so thoroughly was he persuaded that all his effort was lost, that he could count on neither moral nor material success.

It was at this moment that Louis II, king of Bavaria, summoned him, and offered him all the resources necessary to the final realization of his artistic dream. "So great is my joy," wrote Wagner, "that it has crushed me!" Model performances of "*Tannhäuser*" and "*The Flying Dutchman*" were given in Munich; then came "*Tristan's*" turn (1865), and it was mounted under exceptional circumstances. Unfortunately, court intrigues rendered Wagner's relations to Louis II increasingly difficult. He was finally obliged to leave Bavaria, and retired to Switzerland.

There Wagner passed some of his happiest years (1866-1872), those which he spent at Triebschen, near Lucerne, in a little mansion on the bank of the lake, where Cosima, the daughter of Liszt and the wife of the conductor Hans von Bülow, soon joined him, carried away by an irresistible passion. After having obtained her divorce, she was to marry Wagner in 1870, and to present him with a son, Siegfried, in honor of whose birth he composed the "*Siegfried Idyll*." "I would sell all the rest of my affiliations with humanity for a song," Nietzsche said somewhat later, when he had become Wagner's enemy, "yet for nothing in the world would I efface from my life those beau-

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tiful days at Tribschen, days made up of confidence, serenity, sublime hazards, profound moments. . . ." It was there, in the calm and the plenitude of his happiness, that Wagner finished his "*Meistersinger*," and well-nigh completed the "*Trilogy*" (taken up again in 1865 and terminated in 1874).

The initial idea of "*Die Meistersinger*" harked back to 1845, a period when Wagner had fallen out with the Dresden critics. He thought of staging the eternal struggle of genius against pedantry and routine. The figure of *Hans Sachs*, the shoemaker celebrated by Goethe, had been popularized by a drama of *Deinhardstein's* (1827) and by a comic opera of *Lortzing's* (1840). Wagner also was acquainted with the Wagen-seil's old *Nuremburg Chronicle*, and *The Cooper of Nuremburg*, by *Hoffmann*. Yet he had soon abandoned his project, and did not resume it until 1861, after his return from exile, while the work was not definitely taken up until 1867.

The "*Meistersinger*" offers a striking contrast to "*Tristan*." In the former we have an overflowing of life and joy. A host of personages mingle their various passions in a crowded action. Comic episodes alternate with the most serious or poetic scenes: we find once more, transformed and rendered unrecognizable, the choruses and ensembles of the older opera. Lichtenberger with reason regards the "*Meistersinger*" as a species of "interlude" in Wagner's accomplishment. Yet, underneath the outward semblance of a merry and mocking satire on the artistic morals of Germany, is ever hidden the same philosophy, the same leading thoughts, the same dominating sentiments.

Walter von Stolzing personifies the rights of genius as opposed to the routine of the pedants. He is of noble blood; he has dwelt far from cities in his lonely manor-house. In the winter he reads the poetry of *Walter von der Vogelweide*. In summer he wanders through the forest, and it is thus that he has become a poet himself, without ever having learned the rules of his art.

The "*Meistersinger*" are the upholders of tradition; their zeal is estimable, yet their talents are mediocre. They are good craftsmen with a limited intellectual horizon, and of a suspicious trend of character. *Sixtus Beckmesser* represents all the defects of the corporation carried to excess: he is stupid, jealous,

invidious, and even dishonest, and saves himself from contempt only by means of ridicule. Yet Beckmesser is an exception. In general the "master singers" are good fellows, a trifle vain, but generous, like *Pogner*.

The true sage of the drama is *Hans Sachs*, "the last representative," says Wagner, "of the creative and artistic spirit of the people." He wishes to reconcile the rights of genius with the rules of art, the liberty of inspiration with the discipline of tradition. He desires that art be no longer withheld from the people, that the people be its judge, and herein he is opposed to the masters who despise the vulgar.

Aside from the comedy of manners, the "*Meistersinger*" includes a drama of passion which plays in the inmost heart of Hans Sachs, and, though hardly touched upon in the poem, is especially stressed in the music. Hans Sachs loves Eva and sacrifices himself so that she may marry Walter. "My child," Hans Sachs tells Eva, "I know the sad tale of '*Tristan and Isolde*.' Hans Sachs is wise and does not crave the sorry happiness of King Mark." He is well aware that true happiness does not exist, that here below all is illusion. "Madness, madness! All is but madness! The chronicles of the cities, the histories of the peoples is replete with every sort of madness. The peaceful citizens of Nuremburg themselves a short time ago were seized with an attack of madness. Why? Because an evil gnome had passed above the old city, because a glow-worm sought its mate in vain, because the elder-trees were in blossom, because it was Saint John's Eve. . . ." Yet Hans Sachs is not a genuine pessimist. He believes in the virtue of sacrifice; life has a meaning for him. We may already anticipate Wagner's return to the idealistic optimism which manifests itself in "*Parsifal*."

This last evolution of Wagner's thought is betrayed first of all in his writings: *Die Kunst und die Revolution* (1864); *Deutsche Kunst und Deutsche Politik* (1865); *Beethoven* (1870); and *Kunst und Religion* (1880).^{*} His doctrine of nature and of life has

^{*} TRANS. NOTE.—For these and other writings by Wagner mentioned in this chapter, see *The Prose Works of Richard Wagner*, 8 vols., trans. by W. A. Ellis, London, 1892-1900.

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completed itself; his pessimism now is no more than its initial moment. The wish to live no longer seems evil to him, if it does not remain egoistic; the universe should and can be regenerated. Man's fall is due to the capitalistic and militaristic state, to a church overjealous of its temporal power, to moral utilitarianism, to materialistic science, to industrialized art. His fall is due also to race intermixture. The Germans have remained the least contaminated; from them will proceed regeneration and redemption. And art shall lead the peoples into the paths of salvation. Hitherto art has lowered herself to copy vulgar reality, and amuse a surfeited and corrupted public. Her function is a nobler one. The modern artist is called upon to take up the heritage of the priest: "an art-work is the living representation of religion."

Yet in this case the character of a theatrical representation, however, would have to be modified profoundly. As early as 1850 Wagner had entertained the idea of a playhouse especially constructed in the country, whose performances would serve no industrial end. In the Preface to his poem of the "*Ring*" (1862) he appealed to the public for aid to realize his project. In 1871, after the German victory over France, Wagner thought the nation ripe for the effort he expected her to make. He inaugurated a public subscription, and at the end of five years the model stage was built in *Bayreuth*. Wagner did not wish the enterprise to pay any one a profit. The performances were to be given by the public for its own satisfaction at its own expense. In 1873 and 1874, when the continuance of the work was placed in jeopardy, Wagner was offered notable sums to transplant his stage to Baden, London, and Chicago. He refused. It was Louis II of Bavaria who made it possible for Wagner to complete his Festival Playhouse, by advancing the necessary sums in 1874 and 1876, the money being advanced on the royalties accruing to him from the Munich performances of his dramas. In 1882 Wagner saw himself obliged to give up his first idea: he turned Bayreuth into a paying opera-house, yet only on condition that the monetary returns would be reserved to increase the reserve fund of the undertaking, and would never be diverted to other uses.

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It was in this Bayreuth house, within this special and impressive frame, on a stage which concealed an invisible orchestra, before an auditorium plunged in darkness, in the presence of a public impenetrated with a kind of religious fervor, that in 1882, the first performance of "**Parsifal**" took place. Wagner was to die soon after, in Venice, on February 13, 1883.

Wagner, together with Görres, supplies a fantastic etymology for the name *Parsifal*: he derives it from the Arabian: *parseh*—pure, *fai*—simple. Parsifal is the inconscient and spontaneous creature who will realize perfection according to the law of nature, and not according to the rules of the intellect.

Wagner was acquainted with the Parsifal legend at the time he wrote his "*Lohengrin*": Lohengrin was the son of Parsifal. And Wagner had dreamed, before writing "*Parsifal*," of a "*Jesus of Nazareth*," and then of a Buddhist drama, "*The Victors*" (1856). It was in the spring of 1867, on Good Friday, that he heard "that sigh of profoundest pity which of old had resounded from the Cross at Golgotha, and which, on this occasion escaped from his own breast." He then wrote the lines in which Gurnemanz explains to Parsifal the Good Friday magic spell. It was the first sketch of the new drama. This sketch was rounded out in 1865, the poem was completed in 1877, and the music in 1882.

Three figures dominate the entire action: that of *Kundry*, the sacrilegious woman who had insulted the sufferings of the Crucified with impious laughter; that of *Amfortas*, the king of the Grail, captivated by Kundry's charms, who expiates his sin in anguish; and finally, that of *Parsifal*, the "innocent with the pure heart," destined to "save" Amfortas, when he has come to understand the mystery of human suffering, the illusion of desire, and the vanity of sin.

Thus, in his old age, Wagner was able to reconcile the contradictory tendencies of his own nature in the mystic affirmation of a salvation through renunciation, and an optimistic belief in a supernatural felicity, closely akin to the Christian ideal.

The music of "*Parsifal*" reflects this religious appeasement; it echoes in our ears with an altogether novel note, and this

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long canticle of actions of grace wherewith Wagner ends his series of masterworks is a marvel.

Wagner's personality was, perhaps, the most powerful and richest expression of the German genius of the nineteenth century. It comprises at the same time the Teutonic romantic aspiration, its mystic morality, its democratic, socialistic, and nationalistic dream, its pantheism and spirit of synthesis. This art, heavy, overweighed, less pure than classic art, yet profoundly moving, infinitely subtle, brims over with humanity beneath its complicated legendary and symbolic apparatus. It renewed and amplified the technical resources of the language of music, and offered musicians of the future a wealth of discoveries. "It is," says Nietzsche, "something German in the best and in the worst sense of the word, something complex, shapeless, inexhaustible, in the German fashion. It has a certain strength essentially German, an invading plenitude of the soul which does not shrink from hiding beneath the refinements of decadence; which, perhaps, otherwise, does not feel wholly at ease; a faithful and authentic image of the German soul, at once young and very old, at the same time more than matured, yet with too rich a future. This type of music is the most exact expression of what the Germans think: they belong to the day before yesterday and the day after to-morrow, they have not yet attained to the present day." If we make allowance for the exaggeration of this criticism, the judgment of this great enemy of Wagner nevertheless presents some of the most penetrating views which have ever been offered with regard to his works.

* * *

The heritage of glory left by Wagner weighed down the Germans. After him those musicians who wrote for the operatic stage only dared to imitate him, and that they did very feebly. We will mention a few names in passing: **Max Schillings** (1868), the composer of "*Ingwelde*" (1894), a lyric comedy, "*Der Pfeifertag*," "*Moloch*" (1906), and "*Mona Lisa*" (1915); **Humperdinck** (1854-1921), known in particular because of his fairy operas "*Hänsel und Gretel*" (1894) and "*Königskinder*" (1898); **Hans Pfitzner** (1869), the composer of "*Der*

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Arme Heinrich" (1891), "*Die Rose vom Liebesgarten*" (1901), and the musical legend "*Palestrina*" (1919).^{*} Richard Strauss alone departed from the beaten paths and, after numerous brilliant triumphs in the concert field, astonished the world anew with the boldness, prestigious virtuosity, and power of his dramatic creations: "*Feuersnot*" (1901), "*Salome*" (1905), "*Elektra*" (1909), "*Ariadne auf Naxos*" (1912), "*Der Rosenkavalier*," and "*Die Frau ohne Schatten*." Despite everything, the efforts of these German artists convey an impression of fatigue, of labor. More and more vigorously the Russian and especially the French school disputes with the Germans the musical sceptre whose possession Bach, Handel, Mozart, Beethoven, and Wagner had assured them, and of which they so proudly thought they never could be despoiled.

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* TRANS. NOTE.—There might be added: Peter Cornelius, who applied Wagnerian principles to the comic opera in "*Der Barbier von Bagdad*" (1858); Siegfried Wagner, the composer's son (b. 1869), whose numerous scores, among them "*Sonnenflammen*" (1913), have not held their own on the stage; Leo Blech, D'Albert, Kienzl, Cyril Kistler, and the Austrians Julius Bittner, Heuberger, and Karl Weiss.

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CHAPTER XX

FROM BRAHMS TO RICHARD STRAUSS

The Wagnerian drama had absorbed while extending all the conquests of the Germanic symphony, and it presented itself as an art form destined, by combining them in a vast synthesis, to replace all the musical art types hitherto used.

Nevertheless the absolute symphony, chamber-music, and the *lied* continued to find their adepts in Germany.

* * *

Johannes Brahms (1833-1897), did not, like Liszt or Wagner, face toward the future, but like Mendelssohn he turned back to the past; he attached himself closely to classic tradition. In a carefully selected, very restrained, and very correct idiom he expressed his personality, interesting and original in quite a different manner, it should be added, from that of Mendelssohn.

Johannes Brahms was the son of a Hamburg contrabassoonist. He passed the greater part of his life in Vienna, without any remarkable event intervening to trouble his calm and peaceful mode of existence. He never married. He detested the world, and was happy only amid a small circle of friends accustomed to his brusque manner and rude frankness.

His output was considerable: four *symphonies*, four *concertos*, several *cantatas*, one among them, "*A German Requiem*" (1868), which established his fame, "*Rinaldo*," "*Nänie*," two *sextets* and two *string quintets*, a *quintet* for clarinet and strings, a *piano quintet* and three *piano quartets*, two *sonatas* for clarinet, three for violin, a quantity of piano pieces, among them three *sonatas* and the delightful *intermezzos*, *waltzes*, and *Hungarian dances* and a large number of *songs* and *choruses*.

Brahms is perhaps the most purely German among all the German composers. He is more German than Bach, than Beethoven, than Schubert even. And this is why he so easily escapes us. Instinctively we seek in him something which will satisfy our non-Germanic taste, instead of making an effort to

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enter into a mode of thought foreign to us. Hence, while for the majority of Germans Brahms ranks among the greatest modern composers, in France, as a rule, he passes for a musician of the second order, at times agreeable, rarely great, often wearisome.

It is true that he wrote a little too much; all his compositions are not equal in value; more than any other among his compatriots he overdid, especially in his songs, a certain mawkish sentimentality which irritates us, and in his instrumental music he is at times emphatic and pompous, or else too scholastic.

Yet songs like "*Feldeinsamkeit*," "*Wie bist, meine Königin*," "*Durch sanfte Güte wonnevoll*," like "*Ruhe, Süßliebchen, im Schatten*," or "*Von ewiger Liebe*," have a penetrant charm and the most moving expressiveness.

Whenever Brahms was inspired by Hungarian themes in his chamber-music, he was especially happy, and his style, at such times, takes on inimitable color.

He showed admirable invention in his rhythms, which he varied in a thousand ways, and no composer of his own day and land has discovered rhythmic patterns more subtle or more difficult to capture.

He was marvellously successful with effects in grayish half-tints; in this respect his two first *violin sonatas* are altogether beyond compare: their art is at once so discreet and so touching.

All in all, Brahms possessed an ensemble of qualities which were entirely his own, and his music is among that whose composer one recognizes without hesitation. Side by side with Schubert and Schumann, or somewhat in their wake, he remains one of the most refined poet-musicians of the nineteenth century.

* * *

Anton Bruckner (1824-1896), son of a school-teacher in Ansfelden, Upper Austria, began by learning the musician's art alone and unaided, and became a remarkable contrapuntist and excellent organist. His early life was a hard struggle. Finally, in 1855, he was appointed organist of the Linz Cathedral. He then continued his studies under the direction of Sechter and Otto Kitzler, and ended by obtaining the post of organist of

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the court chapel in Vienna. Aside from a *string quintet*, a *cantata*, and three *masses*, Anton Bruckner has written *eight symphonies*, conceived in a spirit which is the very opposite to that of Brahms. He seeks rare harmonies, violent contrasts, transfers to concert music the procedures of Wagnerian art, scaffolds immense and fantastic constructions, and, finally, produces the impression of somewhat disordered effort often failing to attain its aim. And yet there is grandeur and kindness in this heavily weighted art. It is to be regretted that Bruckner is practically unknown in France.

* * *

Hugo Wolf (1860-1903) was a friend of Anton Bruckner, who, when old, attracted all young musicians avid for the new. Born in Windischgrätz, in Styria, the son of a musical puddler, Hugo Wolf was convinced that a few drops of Latin blood flowed in his veins, and he always loved the great French musicians.

Hugo Wolf was practically self-educated. He entered the Vienna Conservatoire in 1875, but remained there only two years, and was dismissed because of his indiscipline. Thenceforward (he was seventeen) he had no other master but himself. He worked with indomitable energy, and at the cost of a thousand privations, a thousand sufferings, in altogether miserable circumstances. He read not only all the great musicians, above all Wagner, who exerted a profound influence upon him, but the French and German writers as well, Goethe, von Kleist, Grillparzer, Hebbel, Rabelais, Claude Tillier. After a few youthful essays, including a *string quartet* (1879-1880), in which one already senses his great, self-willed, suffering, passionate soul, he undertook the duties of a music critic. In 1888, after his father's death, his genius suddenly showed forth in an extraordinarily abundant productivity: in the course of three months he set fifty-three songs to texts by Eduard Möricke. To a friend he wrote: "It is now seven o'clock in the evening, and I am happy, as happy as the happiest of monarchs! Still another new song! My heart . . . could you but hear it! . . . you would be carried away with joy! . . . Two other new

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songs! One of them sounds so terribly strange that it frightens me. As yet there has been nothing like it. Heaven help the poor folk who are condemned to hear it some day! . . . Were you to hear the last song which I have written, your soul would know but a single desire—to die! . . . Your happy, happy Wolf.”

He then set Goethe to music, as well as poems by Eichen-dorff, Spanish poems translated by Heyse, poems by Gottfried Keller, and Italian poems translated by Geibel and Heyse. From 1888 to 1890 he had composed more than 200 songs, and wrote with pride: “What I now write I am writing for the future. . . . There has been nothing like it since Schubert and Schumann!”

Then, suddenly, inspiration’s vein ran dry. Wolf’s genius found nothing more to say, and the unfortunate man became desperate: “I can no longer imagine what a melody and a harmony may be, and I am almost beginning to wonder whether the compositions which bear my name are really mine. . . . Pray for my poor soul! . . . Heaven gives to all others either genius full and complete, or else no genius at all. The devil has given me everything by halves!”

Toward the end of November, 1891, inspiration returned. Wolf wrote fifteen Italian songs, one after the other. In December he again fell silent, and this silence was destined to last for five years. “I firmly believe that all is over for me,” wrote Wolf.

In 1895 the inner voice spoke once more. He composed a comic opera, “*The Corregidor*,” on a Spanish novelette by Don Pedro de Alarcón, adapted by Mme. Mayreder, in three months. Then came the twenty-two songs of the second volume of the “*Italienisches Liederbuch*.” He began to set the sonnets of Michelangelo to music, as well as a new opera, “*Manuel Venegas*.” Then out of a clear sky, on September 20, 1897, madness supervened. It surprised him in the midst of his work and felled him. The year following it was expected that he might recover, yet he soon relapsed definitely into mental darkness. General paralysis declared itself, and after dragging on his existence a few years longer, he died on February 16, 1903.

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While alive Wolf had been ridiculed, his music did not sell, and had it not been for the discreet generosity of a few friends, he would not have had enough for his most pressing needs. As soon as he died glory was his portion. From one day to the next, changing their attitude, the artists, the critics, and the official institutions lauded his genius in the highest terms.

No more tragic destiny than that of Wolf is to be encountered in the history of his art. Nor is there any music more acerb, more profoundly despairing, than that of this composer. Irony, rage, bitterness and disgust, pride, strength, the will to live and express his own individuality, are what this great musician voices in his songs, and with a power which only Beethoven and Schubert have equalled. He is less personal when he sings of love or joy. Yet he invariably translates the thoughts of his poets with a flexibility, an intelligence, and a variety which make him, according to his critic, G. Kühl, "the most profound psychologist German music has known since Mozart." His "*Prometheus*," his "*Gedichte von Möricke*" which, in Germany, lie on the piano in the poorest homes beside the Schubert *lieder*, his "*Wilhelm Meister*" songs, his "*Spanisches*" and "*Italienisches Liederbuch*," and finally his "*Michel-Angelo Gedichte*," contain some of the most human pages which have ever been written in music. One may judge them merely by the "*Song of Death*" which Wolf composed to Michelangelo's beautiful words:

"All must end who knew life's day,
All about us pass away.
We were mortals, yes, we too,
Glad and grieving, like to you.
Here we lie, our life's tale told,
Dust to dust, as you behold." *

* * *

* "Chiunque nasce a morte arriva
Nel fuggir del tempo, e'l sole
Nuina cosa lascia viva . . .
Come voi, uomini fummo,
Lieti e tristi come siete;
E or siam, como vedete,
Terra al sol, di vita priva."

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There are many composers worth studying among the German symphonists of the close of the nineteenth century.

We shall cite the best-known among them: **Gustav Mahler**, born July 7, 1860, in Kalisch, Bohemia, died May 18, 1911, was the composer of *ten symphonies* partly choral, tremendous musical edifices, in which all styles meet and are amalgamated without actual welding, and in which sentiment ostentates herself with somewhat too unrestrained a complaisance (the *Eighth Symphony* is written for two orchestras, three choruses, a double vocal quarter, and calls for a thousand performers in all); **Ludwig Thuille** (1861-1907), born in Bozen, in the Tyrol, the composer of *lieder*, of a *sextet* for piano and wind instruments, of *sonatas* for piano and violin, and of *symphonies*; **Max Reger**, born in 1873, in Brand (Bavarian Palatinate), died in 1916, who devoted himself especially to chamber-music, and composed with a fine, delicate, and ingenious talent, and a rather exaggerated exploitation of contrapuntal resources, two *sonatas* for violin and piano, two *sonatas* for 'cello and piano, six *sonatas* for violin solo, a string *trio* and a string *quartet*, a *Serenade* for flute, violin, and viola, *Variations* for piano solo, as well as an album entitled "*Aus meinem Tagebuch*," and a *Sonata*, and "*Preludien und Fugen*" for organ.

Yet the personality which in this field dominates all others is that of **Richard Strauss**. Romain Rolland has limned "his tall, lean silhouette, with its dry jerky and imperious gestures, his pallid features, a trifle feverish, his singularly clear eyes, at the same time vague yet fixed in their regard, his child's mouth, his mustache, blond almost to whiteness, his hair tending to curl and forming a crown above his bald forehead, his arched and distended temples." Richard Strauss was born in Munich, January 11, 1864. The son of an orchestra player, he gave proof of his vocation for music at an early age. He was at first brought up on the classics. One of his friends, Alexander Ritter, the composer of two operas, "*Der Faule Hans*" and "*Wem die Krone?*" revealed to him Liszt and Wagner, and "the music of the future." On the other hand, a long voyage he was obliged to make in Italy for his health, in 1892, exerted considerable influence on the development of his genius. He

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took an aversion to the North, "the horrible gray on gray of the North, its shadowy, sunless thoughts" (Nietzsche); he dreamed of "a music more profound, more powerful, more evil, and more mysterious, perhaps, a super-Teutonic music which, at the aspect of the blue and voluptuous sea and clear skies of the Mediterranean would not fade away, pale, or tarnish."

He wished to rediscover meridional naïveté, variety, impressional vivacity. Endowed with a poetic as well as a musical soul, that of a thinker nourished on the Nietzscheian philosophy, he wrote a series of symphonic poems in which he transcribed with extraordinary exuberance his romantic pessimism, his ironic contempt for men, and his haughty individualism.

"*Wanderers Sturmlied*" (1885), "*Aus Italien*" (1886)—the souvenir of an early and very brief Italian visit —"*Macbeth*" (1887), "*Don Juan*" (1888), are merely essays.

"*Tod und Verklärung*" ("Death and Transfiguration") (1889) is the story of an unfortunate who upon his death-bed passes in review the joyous and grievous hours of his life, recalls the hard combat he has waged in order to attain his ideal, is eager to continue the struggle and thinks he is still breasting the fray when death fells him. Then come repose, redemption, and transfiguration.

"*Till Eulenspiegels Lustige Streiche*," *nach alter Schelmenweise, in Rondeauform* ("Till Eulenspiegel's Merry Pranks," after an ancient legend, in the form of a rondo) (1894), is a very logically constructed work, in spite of its extraordinarily fantastic appearance and its loosely connected programme.

"*Also sprach Zarathustra*" ("Thus Spake Zarathustra"), a tone-poem freely composed after Nietzsche (1895), describes the evolution of an untrammelled spirit vainly seeking to resolve life's enigma by means of religious faith, and abandoning itself to its passions, until the image of death recalls its early disquietudes; its hero then demands the key to the mystery of existence from science, and in the end, finding peace in laughter and the dance, takes flight, leaving us shrouded in the night of doubt.

"*Don Quixote*," fantastic variations on a knightly theme

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(1897), despite its composer's prodigious virtuosity, soon ends by tiring us; its music is too exclusively narrative, and its interest is no longer a musical one, properly speaking.

"*Heldenleben*" (1898) sings the labors, the combats, the defeats, and finally the victory of the artist who wishes to raise himself above the crowd, and who does not dominate it until that day when he despises and disdains its applause; it is from his own life that Strauss draws a picture of magnificent power for us in this symphonic poem.

The "*Sinfonia domestica*" (1905) depicts Strauss himself in his home, between "his dear wife and his boy." Said Strauss: "I do not see why I should not write a symphony about myself. I find myself quite as interesting as Napoleon or Alexander." This time we have a glaring contrast between the insignificance of the scenes of home life which Strauss wishes to represent and the formidable orchestral apparatus which he uses to describe them. Was it necessary to devote a symphony to these "childhood scenes"? *

The art of Strauss is very mixed. The most banal and vulgar melodies, which recall Puccini at his worst, are associated in them with the most subtle and unusual harmonies, and an orchestration marvellous in variety and color, serving as material for polyphonic developments worthy of a Bach or Wagner. Voluptuousness and Italian softness go hand in hand with the energetic severity of German art. It is programme music; and nevertheless it is comprised within the classic frames; it develops its themes in the rondo form, in that of the variation or sonata-symphony. "You need not read the programme," Richard Strauss himself has said with regard to his "*Heldenleben*." "It is enough to know that here we have a hero contending with his enemies."

In these works full of reflective power, of intelligent strength of will, rather than instinct and sentiment, power itself and the will often give out. The music is imperious, victorious—and wearied.

* TRANS NOTE.—The "*Alpensymphonie*" ("Alpine Symphony"), first performed in 1915, is generally regarded as falling below the great works of Strauss's second period in the quality of its inspiration.

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CHAPTER XXI

FROM GOUNOD TO GUSTAVE CHARPENTIER

From 1830 to 1860, approximately, Meyerbeer and Auber had ruled the destinies of the French musical stage, and we have already shown how fateful their influence had been. Even outside the pale of opera, Berlioz had not succeeded in winning recognition. A sustained effort was needed to re-educate the public, and to recall musicians to a proper respect for their art.

It is Gounod who may definitely claim the honor of having inaugurated this renaissance of French music.

Charles-François Gounod was born in Paris, June 17, 1818. His mother, a good pianist, initiated his musical education, which he completed at the Conservatoire, under the direction of Halévy, Paër, and Lesueur. In 1837 he obtained the second Roman Prize, and in 1839 the first. During his sojourn in Italy, he studied Palestrina, wrote a three-part *mass* (1841), and a *requiem* (1842). On his return to Paris, he obtained the position of organist and choir-master at the chapel of the *Église de la Mission Extérieure*. Soon after he was admitted as an externe to the Saint-Sulpice Seminary, and seemed on the point of taking holy orders. But he soon returned to music. During a trip to Germany he made the acquaintance of Schumann's compositions, which greatly impressed him, and, perhaps, revealed to him certain poetic trends in his nature hitherto unknown to him. At the same period, he studied Berlioz, whose genius, undoubtedly, had little in common with his own; but whose works, at any rate, drew his attention to the musical character of certain subjects, such as "*Faust*" and "*Roméo et Juliette*."

In 1851 Gounod made his début on the operatic stage with "*Sapho*," and in 1854 he presented "*La Nonne sanglante*," two works which scored but a moderate success. In 1852 Gounod

was appointed director of the "Orphéon" (association of choral societies and singing-schools in Paris), and remained for eight years at the head of this institution. Nevertheless, he wrote choruses, two *masses*, and two *symphonies*. In 1858 he had "*le Médecin malgré lui*" performed at the *Opéra-Comique*, but it was not considered lively enough; finally, on March 19, 1859, the première of "*Faust*" took place in the *Théâtre Lyrique*. Gounod's masterpiece was not immediately understood. Many critics reproached its music with being complicated, obscure, and without melody. On the first night the only numbers which brought forth sincere applause were Siebel's "*Air*" and the "*Soldiers' Chorus*," the two most commonplace pages of the score. The extraordinary good fortune which this work later enjoyed, not alone in France but throughout the world, is a matter of common knowledge. Gounod never again scored such a success. He wrote, in addition, "*Philémon et Baucis*" (1860), "*la Reine de Saba*" (1862), "*Mireille*" (1864), "*la Colombe*" (1866), "*Roméo et Juliette*" (1867). During the war of 1870 he took refuge in London, founded a singing society there, and had his "*Gallia*" performed in 1871. Then, upon his return to France, he had performed three grand operas, "*Cinq-Mars*" (1877), "*Polyeucte*" (1878), and "*le Tribut de Zamora*" (1881), which may be ranked among his least interesting productions. At length he reverted to religious music and composed, in particular, three oratorios: "*Tobie*," "*Rédemption*" (1882), and "*Mors et Vita*" (1885). He died in Paris, on October 17, 1893.

Guided by his instinct, Gounod led French operatic music back to its natural destination; he founded the "half-character opera," a medial genus, for which the French public seems to entertain a marked predilection, and for which French artists show special aptitude. Less constantly dramatic than Gluck's musical tragedy, it embraces lighter or even comic parts (this already was Lully's altogether French conception); its tone is not one of sustained nobility, but often grows familiar.

On the other hand, in Gounod's works, the action is often interrupted in order to make room for long lyric outpourings; Gounod is more a poet than a dramatist; he takes pleasure in making a stop at some sentimental situation in which his volup-

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tuous art finds an occasion for rich development. At times he shows himself capable of colorful fantasy, which he owes in part to Berlioz's example and also, doubtless, to that of Weber. His melodies are clear, his style is harmonious and measured.

Unfortunately, Gounod is not always equal to himself. One may point out many platitudes, as well as turgid inflations in his works. We should not regard these faults with too severe an eye, for we must take into account the deplorable examples with which Gounod was surrounded. How could he have escaped imitating Auber and Meyerbeer at times? It is in itself quite miraculous that in the majority of cases he was able to resist so powerfully compulsive a current.

Finally, the considerable influence which Gounod exercised on his contemporaries and his immediate successors was an excellent one. The extent of César Franck's, Henri Duparc's, and Bizet's indebtedness to him has not been sufficiently stressed.

Nor should we forget, incidentally, the great service he rendered music by beginning to make a place of honor in France for the other "medial genus," which may also be regarded as one distinctively French, the *lied*, or poetic melody.

* * *

Louis-Étienne-Ernest Rey, called **Reyer**, also did his part in uplifting musical taste in France during the last third of the nineteenth century. Born in Marseille, December 1, 1823, it was not until 1848, at the age of twenty-five that he devoted himself to music, and went to Paris to work there under the guidance of his aunt, Mme. Farrenc. His studies in harmony and composition were never completed, and the fact is betrayed by many a clumsy turn of musical workmanship. In 1854 he presented "*Maître Wolfram*," in 1858 "*Sacountala*," in 1861 "*la Statue*," in 1862 "*Érostrate*," and then settled down to the composition of his "*Sigurd*," which was not performed until 1884, in Brussels. His last work was "*Salammbô*" (Brussels, 1890; Paris, 1892). He died in 1909.

Reyer was obliged to wait for the reputation to which he was entitled until "*Sigurd*" had been performed. Until then he had passed for an innovator devoid of talent and minus inspira-

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tion. Notwithstanding, he had done good service on the *Journal des Débats*, where he generously placed his warmly appreciative criticism at the disinterested service of art. Reyer was a sincere musician; above all, personal in his charm and tenderness, possessed of a delicate and lively sensibility and a highly poetic imagination. Thoroughly French, like Gounod, he was influenced to a larger degree by the Germans, and from this view-point played a very important part, historically speaking, in preparing the French public for the audition of the Wagner dramas. He himself, with touching simplicity, avowed that this, perhaps, would be his chief merit in the eyes of posterity.

In passing we might mention a musician all grace and lightness, and who wrote only comic operas and ballets, **Léo Delibes**, born in Saint-Germain-du-Val (Sarthe), February 21, 1836, and who died in Paris, January 16, 1891. "*Le Roi l'a dit*" (1873), "*Jean de Nivelle*" (1880), "*Lakmé*" (1883), "*Coppélia*" (1870), and "*Sylvia*" (1876) are works coquettishly written. This composer's ballets display notably much ingenious invention, and they have an agreeable character, never touched with vulgarity; qualities not to be disdained. One might even say that Delibes prepared that renovation of the ballet which was to take place in France at the beginning of the twentieth century.

After Gounod **Georges Bizet** is the musician who did most to liberate the French stage from the injurious traditions of the Italian and the Meyerbeerian opera. He was born in Paris, October 25, 1838. His father was a singing teacher. He entered the Conservatoire at the age of nine, won all prizes and finally, in 1857, the Roman Prize.

He set out for Italy filled with hope. "When I have a hundred thousand francs," he wrote his parents in 1859, "that is to say, bread enough on the table, Papa need give no more lessons, nor shall I. We will start to live on our income, and will be none the worse off for it. A hundred thousand francs is nothing, two comic-opera successes! A success like '*le Prophète*' would give us a million!"

His stay in Rome could not aid greatly in forming his taste.

"One is almost compelled to give up listening to music when in Rome," said Gounod; "I myself had reached the point of not being able to compose in this anti-harmonic atmosphere." At that time Rossini was young Bizet's god. Ten years later he had changed his mind. Beethoven, Berlioz, Schumann had by then exerted their beneficent influence upon him. He wrote (March 11, 1867): "Like you, I place Beethoven above the greatest, the most famous. The '*Choral Symphony*' represents the culminating point of our art for me." Yet he still recognizes in Meyerbeer "an overwhelming dramatic genius." He was very near to denying him, however, for, after the first performance of his "*Jolie fille de Perth*" he told one of his correspondents: "No, sir, no more than yourself do I believe in false gods, and I will prove it to you! This time I again have made concessions which I confess I regret. I might have various things to advance in my defense . . . you may guess them. The school of fol-de-rol, of roulades, of falsehoods is dead, absolutely dead. Let us bury it without tears, without regrets, without emotion and . . . forward!"

Bizet came into the full heritage of his genius only with his "*l'Arlésienne*." His earlier works, "*les Pêcheurs de perles*" (1863), "*la Jolie fille de Perth*" (1867), "*Djamileh*" (1872), were imitations of Rossini, of Meyerbeer, and of Gounod. His scenic music for "*l'Arlésienne*" is a masterpiece of the first order. Never again, perhaps, did Bizet attain equal perfection. In this suite of small musical tableaux, so picturesque and so colorful, the shading is exquisite in its finish; the numbers disengage a penetrant charm and, at times, a poignant emotion. It is Schumann's art transposed beneath another sky, for another race, sun-gilded, Mediterraneanized. (We should not forget in this connection that Bizet also wrote his "*Kinder-scenen*," under the title of "*Jeux d'enfants*"; a delightful little collection of pieces for piano four hands.)

Between "*l'Arlésienne*" and "*Carmen*" must be placed the overture "*Patrie*" (1874), which Bizet had been commissioned to write by Padeloup, at the same time the latter ordered that of "*Phèdre*" from Massenet, and that of "*d'Artevelde*" from Guiraud (1837-1892). Bizet drew inspiration from the mis-

fortune of France in 1870. Yet he did not wish to insist on these sad recollections at the moment when the nation had begun to settle down, and preferred to have the public believe that his work was motivated by Poland.

It was in 1875 that "*Carmen*," Bizet's chief work, was performed. His nervously tense, warm supple music translated its drama in so immediate a fashion that it actually seemed body of its body; there was no useless redundancy, all was simple and direct. And what color! Bizet the Parisian was as spontaneously Spanish in "*Carmen*" as he had been *Provençal* in "*l'Arlésienne*."

The first performance of "*Carmen*" was not a success. This utterly spontaneous music was not understood. Bizet was accused of Wagnerism. No more stupid criticism could be imagined. Bizet's art is entirely the opposite of that of Wagner. It is as French as the other is Germanic.

Bizet did not know glory during his lifetime. He died at the age of thirty-seven (1875), leaving a manuscript score, "*Don Rodrigue*," in a fairly advanced state of completion. With his death French art lost one of its greatest masters.

Massenet, Jules-Émile-Frédéric (1842-1912), was born in Montaud, near Saint-Étienne (Loire). He entered the Paris Conservatoire when eleven years old and studied with Laurent (piano), Reber (harmony), and Ambroise Thomas (composition). In 1863 he won the Roman Prize with his cantata "*David Rizzio*." He brought back with him from Italy: the "*Scènes Napolitaines*," a "*Requiem*," a collection of melodies, "*Poème d'Avril*," and an oratorio, "*Marie-Magdeleine*" (1866). Then he commenced to produce with extraordinary abundance: "*Pompéïa*," an orchestral suite, "*Noce flamande*," for choruses and orchestra (1867), "*Première suite d'orchestre*" (1867-1868), "*Grand' Tante*," comic opera in one act (1867), "*la Coupe du Roi de Thule*," an opera never performed, "*Méduse*," a manuscript score, the "*Deuxième suite d'orchestre, Scènes hongroises*" (1871), "*Don César de Bazan*," a comic opera (1872), scenic music for the "*Erinnyes*" (1873), the "*Troisième suite d'orchestre, Scènes pittoresques*" (1874), the "*Phèdre*" overture (1874), "*Eve*" (1875), the "*Quatrième suite d'orchestre*," and "*le Roi*"

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de Lahore" (1877), which won quite a success, especially outside of France, "*la Vierge*" (1880), "*Hérodiade*" (Brussels, 1881), "*Manon*" (1884), "*le Cid*" (1885), "*Esclarmonde*" (1889), "*le Mage*" (1891), "*Werther*" (Vienna, 1893), "*Thaïs*" (1894), the "*Portrait de Manon*" (1894), "*la Navarraise*" (London, 1894), "*Sapho*" (1897), the "*Jongleur de Notre-Dame*" (1904), "*Cendrillon*," "*Grisélidis*," "*Cherubin*" (1905), "*Ariane*" (1906), and others, including the posthumous scores "*Panurge*" (1913), "*Cléopâtre*" (1914), and "*Amadis*."

Massenet won the greatest successes. Two of his operas, "*Manon*" (1884) and "*Werther*" (1893), admirably resume his manner and, by reason of their qualities as well as their defects, will probably long maintain themselves in the repertoire. Massenet has a melodic turn which is very personal, a trifle mannered. His phrase, unfortunately, is short, its breath gives out before it ends, and the processes of craftsmanship have to come to the aid of the interrupted inspiration. A striving for effect, incidentally, too often spoils his most charming musical inventions. He possesses less genuine lyricism than Gounod, and less sane and healthy tenderness as well. His art, a voluptuous one, acts violently upon the senses, not at all upon the heart. This explains both his extraordinary power of seduction where the multitude, which considers only its pleasure, is concerned, as well as the repugnance shown, where his music is in question, by those who care for a loftier and purer art and one at the same time less limited in its means.

Bruneau (Louis-Charles-Bonaventure-Alfred) was born in Paris, March 3, 1857. His father played the viola, his mother painted pastels. He obtained the first 'cello prize at the Conservatoire in 1876. He competed three times without success for the prize in harmony; then entered Massenet's composition class, and in 1881 the second Roman Prize was awarded him. Thereupon he benefited to some extent by the advice of César Franck.

Alfred Bruneau had thus far produced hardly anything, and was practically unknown to the public when his "*le Rêve*"—for which Emile Zola had furnished the libretto—was performed at the *Opéra-Comique*, June 18, 1891. It scored a notable suc-

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cess. In 1892, his symphonic poem, "*Penthésilée*" was favorably received at the Concerts-Colonne. On November 23, 1893, he achieved a new triumph at the *Opéra-Comique* with his "*l'Attaque du Moulin*." His "*Messidor*," at the *Opéra*, in 1897, "*l'Ouragan*" at the *Opéra-Comique* in 1901, and "*l'Enfant-roi*" were less to the public's liking.

Bruneau is a realist after the manner of Zola. He addresses himself to the people, and makes the people speak. Without going to the extreme of "opera in overalls," he has a predilection for opera in prose. Yet, notwithstanding, he asserts that he does not tread in the footsteps of the Italian "verists," the partisans of miscellaneous lyricism, who have applied themselves to writing only pieces rapid and brutal in action. "Their realism is gross," declares Bruneau, "without poesy; it gives symbolism no leeway at all. Yes, it is nature, it is the real which we wish to express, yet illuminating it with a thought, a philosophy, a great love for humanity." These excellent intentions Bruneau only too often attempts to realize with somewhat simple and clumsy means. A tribute should be paid his sincerity, however, a sincerity which inspires him at times to write moving pages, not in the grand manner, yet lyrically powerful.

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Gustave Charpentier was born in Dieuze, in Lorraine, June 25, 1860. At the Paris Conservatoire he was the pupil of Massart (violin), Pessard (harmony), and Massenet (composition). In 1887, he won the Roman Prize with his cantata "*Didon*." His "*Impressions d'Italie*" laid the foundation of his reputation. In 1892 his "*la Vie du poète*," a dramatic symphony in three parts, whose poem he himself had written, was performed. As to his subject, Charpentier was inspired by Berlioz; with regard to his music, by Massenet and Chabrier. In his "*Impressions fausses*" Charpentier used two poems by Verlaine as his text: "*la Veillée rouge*" and "*la Ronde des compagnons*." He displays his socialistic ideas and his love for the people in a style which often seems too disordered. After his "*Poèmes chantés*" (1895), he presented (February 2, 1900), at the *Opéra-Comique*, his "*Louise*," whose centenary performance took place on Feb-

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ruary 22, 1901. Charpentier wrote the prose book of this opera himself. It is a species of autobiography: "Around an action which in the main has actually been lived, I wished to write the poem of our youth in common, the youth of the poets and artists." In this modernized "Bohemian Life," the realism seems very artificial, the sentiment without much depth. Artists, the small *bourgeois*, and men of the people "pose" as best they may, and strike attitudes which are neither sincere nor interesting. The whole is a mixture of "humbug" and affected and silly sentimentalism, which gives infinite pleasure to the multitude, yet which rings false to more delicate ears. Paris seen from a Montmartre studio, through the eyes of a *rapin*, a student of painting, brainless and heartless, this is what is offered us as a penetrant vision of humanity! "For me, the universe is contained in the quarter in which I live," said Charpentier. It is a fact which one soon learns to regret.

In 1913 appeared "*Julien*," the sequel to "*Louise*," a new apotheosis of Montmartre life.

What a pity that a musician so gifted in many respects, with so poetic a nature and so flexible a talent, has not better grasped the example set by Bizet, whom he resembles in so many ways!

* * *

The influence of Massenet is noticeable in Bruneau and Charpentier. It also extended to such composers as: **Xavier Leroux** (1863-1919), composer of "*la Reine Fiammette*" and "*le Chemineau*"; **Camille Erlanger** (1863), composer of "*le Juif Polonais*," "*Aphrodite*," and "*Messaline*"; **Reynaldo Hahn** (1874), who wrote "*la Carmélite*," "*la Fête chez Thérèse*," "*Le Dieu Bleu*"; **Henry Février** (1875), who did a "*Monna Vanna*" and a "*Ghismonda*"; and **Gabriel Dupont** (1878-1914), composer of "*la Cabrera*," "*la Glu*," "*la Farce du Cuvier*" and "*Antar*."

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We have just considered the French musicians who, from the end of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth, devoted themselves almost exclusively to operatic music. We have purposely set aside, for the time being, in order to take

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them up later, the group of artists who realized that dramatic music should be a terminal point and not one of departure; that there is no serious, forceful and noble theatrical music which does not presuppose long practice in instrumental music, in sonata and symphony. An exclusive preoccupation with scenic effect, correct declamation, verity of expression, does not suffice to sustain the composer's inspiration, nor to develop his technic. First of all, he must be a musician, that is to say, a man for whom the world of sound has an independent existence, one capable of purely musical invention, without reference to any text, and one trained to the handling of all the tonal forms.

Gounod, Bizet, Massenet, Bruneau, and Charpentier have acquired a universal reputation: their names have become popular in France and beyond its boundaries. Yet no matter what their merit may be, these composers, by and large, merely represent that which in French music most readily gratifies the great general public. The richest treasures of French art must be sought elsewhere, a truth we will endeavor to demonstrate in the following chapter.

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CHAPTER XXII

THE SOCIÉTÉ NATIONALE DE MUSIQUE

EDOUARD LALO—SAINT-SAËNS

The advent of Gounod already had announced the end of the reign of Rossini, Auber, Bellini, Donizetti, Meyerbeer and their emulators in France.

Yet it was a question of raising the tone of French music to a loftier point of elevation than that to which Gounod's efforts had brought it, and of definitely deflecting it from the very superficial habitudes to which it had been limited for so many years. This was accomplished by **Saint-Saëns** and by **César Franck**; and the work was carried out by means of the *Société Nationale de Musique*.

The *Société Nationale de Musique* was founded in Paris, under the auspices of Saint-Saëns and Bussine, on February 25, 1871, with the imperative device: *Ars Gallica*. The *Société Nationale* was the cradle of the new school. All the truly great and worthy, the more delicate or penetrant French music written for more than half a century, either directly or indirectly, reflects the irradiance of this artistic hearth-flame. Its influence was spread abroad in many different directions. The names of **Vincent d'Indy**, **Gabriel Fauré**, and **Claude Debussy** suffice to indicate those which are most significant.

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Even before the *Société Nationale* had instituted its symphonic and chamber-music concerts, for the execution of new works by its members, the efforts of **Edouard Lalo** and of **Saint-Saëns** already had prepared the fecund return of the French composers to "pure" or absolute music.

Lalo (**Edouard-Victor-Antoine**), born in Lille, January 28, 1823, died in Paris, April 22, 1892, had begun by studying litera-

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ture with excellent results. He studied music at the Lille Conservatoire (violin and harmony), then at the Paris Conservatoire, with Habeneck (violin). His composition teachers were Schulhoff and Crevecœur. In 1855 he entered the Armignaud-Jacquard Quartet, founded that same year, as the viola, and began to write chamber-music compositions, which were remarkable, yet won no success. In 1865 he married Mlle. Bernier de Maligny, one of his pupils, who had a very lovely contralto voice. In 1867 he wrote an opera, "*Fiesque*," which was published, but of which, however, he only managed to have a few fragments performed in concert. After a spell of discouragement he once more set to work, and had soon written his masterpiece, the "*Roi d'Ys*," a few pages of which were played in concert as early as 1876, but which was not performed at the *Opéra-Comique* until May 7, 1888.

When he died Lalo left an uncompleted score, "*la Jacquerie*," which was completed by **Arthur Coquard** (b. 1846), and performed in Monte Carlo, March 8, 1895. Besides his operas Lalo wrote a *symphony*, three *violin concertos*, a *string quartet*, three *trios* for piano and strings, etc., which contain pages of the first order. Lalo possessed rhythm and color, tenderness and power; he is one of the most individual artists of the nineteenth century, and his "*Roi d'Ys*" holds its own.

* * *

Camille Saint-Saëns was born in Paris, the offspring of a family of Norman descent, on October 9, 1835. His great-aunt was the first to put his fingers on the piano keys. His mother was a painter, and wished to make a musician of her son.

The boy showed himself as precocious as Mozart. At a very early hour he could distinguish musical sounds, and recognized notes in the tinkling of glass, crystal, and the chime of bells.

He never cared to learn the little stupid things which as a rule serve as "pieces for beginners." He found that "the bass did not sing enough." Haydn, Mozart, Grétry were the first composers with whom he came in contact. Later he learned to know Rameau, and felt himself naturally drawn to this essentially French musician, a lover of order and clarity, one so sci-

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entifically clean-cut and exact in the manipulation of his artistic procedure.

Beethoven at first astonished young Saint-Saëns, and to some extent remained a stranger to him. He assimilated only the most luminous portions of his music.

At the age of seven, Saint-Saëns became Stamaty's pupil, and without much exertion acquired prodigious virtuosity. On June 2, 1846, he gave his first concert in the Salle Pleyel. The programme listed Mozart's "*Concerto in B flat*," a "*Fugue*" and an "*Air varié*" by Handel, and a "*Concerto*" by Beethoven. "He played," declared the *Gazette musicale*, "without any notes, and without effort, outlining his melodies; his stroke with neat precision, elegance, and expression even, amid the effects of an orchestra thundering with all the strength of its voices."

Little Saint-Saëns then began the study of harmony and counterpoint with Maleden. At fourteen he entered Benoist's organ class. The austerity of religious art pleased him. He understood it, however, in a manner entirely different from César Franck. It was the architectural grandeur of its doctrine and the splendor of its rites which impressed him. It was now that he made the acquaintance of Bach and Handel.

More and more his life was destined to be devoted to his art. Passion was to play no part in it. Æsthetic and intellectual interests were to absorb him altogether.

In 1848 Seghers founded the *Société Sainte-Cécile*. It revealed to young Saint-Saëns the "*Italian Symphony*" and the finale of "*Lorelei*" by Mendelssohn (who passed at the time for a very advanced composer), Schumann's "*Manfred*" overture, the "*Tannhäuser*" overture, and the "*Bridal March*" from "*Lohengrin*," and Berlioz's "*Flight into Egypt*." Though afire with enthusiasm, he soon sensed the difference in character which separated him from these composers: Mendelssohn must have seemed to him too soft and too consonant; Schumann excessively romantic; Wagner lacking in discretion; Berlioz was more closely related to him, in spite, at times, of the unrestrained extravagances of his imagination.

Notwithstanding, at the *Opéra* he listened to the disciples of Meyerbeer who, without exercising any profounder influence

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upon him, gave him a taste for the historical subject. With regard to the operatic stage, he was especially fond of Gluck and Mozart.

As yet, however, he did not think of the dramatic stage. When eighteen years old he wrote his first symphony.

That same year he made the acquaintance of Liszt, and was definitively captivated by this extraordinary artist. Liszt thenceforth occupied a privileged place in his esteem. Together with Berlioz, he was destined to be Saint-Saëns's great initiator into the spirit of modernism. Liszt at once became the friend of Saint-Saëns. Later he staged "*Samson*" at Weimar and, as a token of recognition, the French composer dedicated his "*Symphony in C minor*" to him.

And now Saint-Saëns undertook the study of composition; at first with Halévy, then with Reber, finally with Gounod. It was in vain, however, that he took part in the competitions for the Roman Prize. No such distinction was his portion.

This setback did not discourage him.

At the age of twenty-five he had already written an "*Ode à Sainte Cécile*," three *symphonies*, the "*Christmas Oratorio*," the *quintet* for strings and piano, and a *concerto* for violin.

His prolific youth, all in all, had been a happy one. Camille Saint-Saëns discovered the greatest joys of which his mind could conceive in the exercise of his art. It is true that his health had troubled him at times; he was threatened with consumption, and suffered his life long from excessive nervousness.

He did not confine himself to the study of music. His thirst for knowledge was encyclopædic. He was interested in literature—wrote verses on occasion—in philosophy, in the sciences, and particularly in astronomy. He read Auguste Comte, Flaubert, Taine, and allowed himself to be carried away by the great positivist movement of 1850. He loved painting, and was himself an aquarelle painter in moments of leisure. In 1860, Camille Saint-Saëns gave a concert of his own compositions in the Salle Érard. He played his *quintet*, his *duos* for piano and a harmonium, a *fantasie* for piano and clarinet, and accompanied a *concerto* for violin. The *Gazette musicale* gave an account of the performance in the following terms:

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"All the world will tell you that M. Saint-Saëns is a serious and well-informed artist; yet no one will play his works for you. We have, in Paris, a dozen or so young musicians, each of whom speaks only with a certain gravity, and whom the public does not know and, perhaps, will never know. . . . There are in M. Saint-Saëns's compositions dissonances, retards, and subtleties of every kind, harmonies severely correct and greatly daring."

That same year an amateur, Lemoine, founded a chamber-music society, *la Trompette*, whose great friend Saint-Saëns became, beginning with the year 1875, and which was to continue making known his works.

In 1862 there was another concert, in the Salle Pleyel. The *Gazette musicale* reproached the young artist with hesitating between the past "and the new roads opened by Mendelssohn (?), which had already led astray so many superior minds (?)." This criticism was corrected in part, however, by the conclusion of the article: "At bottom, M. Saint-Saëns is infinitely more classic than he wishes to appear."

In 1865 the first audition of the *Trio in F*, op. 18, took place. It was an important date in the history of French chamber-music. Rarely was Saint-Saëns destined to strike a happier vein. Grace, freshness, elegance, youth, purity of line and delicacy of touch, all were united to turn these pages into a delightful musical jewel.

The year 1870 arrived. The misfortunes of France tempered many of her national energies. On February 25, 1871, a group of young musicians founded the *Société Nationale de musique*, whose presidency Saint-Saëns shared with Bussine.

A period of intensive production then began in the composer's life. In less than a decade he had written his four "*Symphonic Poems*," the "*Cello Sonata*," the *Quartet*, op. 41, the "*Psalmes XVIII*," the "*Fourth Piano Concerto*," "*The Deluge*," "*Samson et Dalila*," the "*Requiem*," "*la Lyre et Harpe*," and his "*Septet*."

He then essayed the stage with "*la Princesse jaune*" (1872), "*le Timbre d'argent*" (1877), "*Étienne Marcel*" (Lyon, 1879), "*Henry VIII*" (1883), "*Proserpine*" (1887), "*Ascanio*" (1890), etc., etc.

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Camille Saint-Saëns was long a subject of discussion. It was during the last ten years of the nineteenth century, above all from the moment on that "*Samson*" was revived at the *Opéra* (1892), that his reputation was universally established in France. In Germany he was already regarded as the greatest among French musicians. In England his qualities of exactness, of nobility paired with sustained clarity, pleased in the highest degree. Loaded with every distinction France could bestow, promoted to the highest grade to which an artist may attain in the Legion of Honor, his green old age seemed to defy the passing of the years. This man, who had been a delicate child, who, at various times during his youth and even in maturity, was forced to dread the consequences of his constitutional weakness, had become the most robust of old men.

He divided his time between France and the meridional lands: the Orient, Africa, or the Canary Islands, somewhat because of his health, yet largely because he had to keep moving, he had to be on the go—he was very nervous—and because of a fantastic humor.

He died suddenly at Algiers, on December 16, 1921, at the age of eighty-six.

The master's face is familiar: its regular features, its sad eyes, the eyes of a thinker, like those of Descartes; his imperious nose, his acerb mouth.

Saint-Saëns was a classic, a classic in the French style. Form, for him, was the essential thing in art, a form which owed its harmonious balance to reason as much and more than to sensibility. His musical idiom, so clearly deduced, recalls the intelligent distinction, the good social tone of the seventeenth-century "gentleman," and even more that of the gentleman of the eighteenth. The spiritual relationship between Saint-Saëns and Voltaire has been justly established: Voltaire was an artist of the same kind, and the two men also have the same trend of thought, encyclopædic, ironic, positive.

Above all else, Saint-Saëns is a positive spirit, he is even a positivist one: "In proportion as science advances," he wrote, "God retreats." And again: "The soul is no more than a means to explain the production of thought."

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To the sadness of positivism he added the bitterness of his reflections on nothingness. In this respect he resembled Berlioz.

He was fond of the disillusioned grandeur of certain biblical subjects. His mother had awakened his interest in biblical history at an early age. When no more than eleven he had sketched a tragedy: "*Moïse au Mont Horeb.*" Later he set to music Victor Hugo's ode: "*Moïse sauvé des eaux.*" Need we recall "*Samson et Dalila*," his "*Psalmes XVIII*," "*The Deluge*"?

He saved himself from despair by means of irony and a certain fantastic gaiety, which, in the main, is very bitter.

In all he was a pessimist. He placed no credence in any of those loftier reasons which various men believe in order to love life. He lived because he had to live. He lived like an amateur of life, voluptuously culling the occasional pleasures which our wretched existence offers.

His art expressed his soul. For him, art had no ulterior aim. On every occasion Saint-Saëns affirmed his theory of "art for art's sake." He did not assign any mission to himself. He did not place his art at the service of any moral idea, of any philosophy, of any duty, of any faith. It was a distraction.

He had the courage to be simply and frankly what he really was, not to assume a mask, and not to adorn himself with hypocritical virtues. He was the most sincere of artists. And this was all the more meritorious, seeing that he lived in an epoch in which the cult of romanticism had well-nigh become an idolatry, and in which the enthusiasm of the multitude was aroused by music of symbolic, philosophic, and religious tendency. Beethoven (in his last manner), Wagner, César Franck were the gods of the concluding nineteenth century, and in the case of the musicians the cult of sentiment, the striving for expression, the subordination of purely ethical conceptions to actual moral ends was pushed to its extremest limits. In spite of this, Saint-Saëns remained himself, firmly attached to the past by the very nature of his character. He remained the artist of form, stubbornly, without making concessions to fashion. This attitude is not without its own grandeur.

His preoccupation with form in art, however, exaggerates its

importance, nevertheless. Form is not all: "It is the music of musical glasses," said the Germans, "with a pretty tone color, yet hollow-sounding." Life is often absent in these combinations whose ingenuity leaves us cold.

From the historic point of view, Saint-Saëns is a notable figure.* He undertook the musical education of France at the exact moment when Berlioz despaired of succeeding with the task, and he prepared the public for the great French school of symphonists which arose toward the end of the nineteenth century.

* * *

Camille Saint-Saëns had hardly any pupils, so to speak. About the only musician who may be said to have been taught by him is **Gabriel Fauré**, whom we will consider in the following chapter, and **André Messager** (1853), the composer of "*la Basoche*" (1890), of "*la Fauvette de Temple*," the "*Petites Michu*," "*Véronique*," "*Madame Chrysanthème*," and many other operas, operettas, and ballets.

By the side of Camille Saint-Saëns, and following a nearly parallel course, **Théodore Dubois** (1837), director of the Paris Conservatoire from 1896 to 1906, wrote church music, operas, symphonic compositions, and chamber-music. **Ch.-M. Widor** (1845), organist of Saint-Sulpice since 1869, and professor of composition at the Conservatoire, owes his reputation mainly to the *symphonies* he has composed for the organ.

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* Saint-Saëns is the French Mendelssohn. Like Mendelssohn, his merit lies in having compelled public and artists to cultivate the classics and pre-classics. Like Mendelssohn, also, he often has allowed himself to imitate the old masters, instead of producing original work.

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CHAPTER XXIII

CÉSAR FRANCK AND HIS SCHOOL

VINCENT D'INDY

César Franck was the real head of the young French school in process of formation during the years succeeding 1870. It was about him that its members rallied first of all, before following their divers paths. He was the initiator. He inspired the movement which, after him, developed freely and, at times, in directions the farthest removed from that which his own example had indicated.

César Franck was born in Liège, December 10, 1822. His father wished to make a virtuoso of him. At the age of eleven he already played the piano in a remarkable manner, and was heard in public in Belgium. He came to Paris, entered the Conservatoire, obtained the "grand honor prize for piano" when sixteen, a first prize for fugue when eighteen, and at nineteen a second prize for organ playing. He was preparing for the Roman Prize competition when his father interfered, and took him back to Belgium, where he hoped to interest King Leopold I in the young artist's merits. It was a vain hope. César Franck returned to Paris in 1844, and thenceforward subsisted on his labors as an organist and numerous piano lessons, which left him but very little leisure for composition.

What were the examples which surrounded him? Rossini, Meyerbeer, Auber were triumphing on the stage. Symphonic and chamber music as yet had no audience; and was not to have one until the audition of Beethoven's works at the Conservatoire concerts and occasional quartet performances had educated a nucleus of music-lovers. The established traditions decreed that religious music be either theatrical or inexpressive. With the touching modesty proper to him, César Franck at first modelled himself upon his contemporaries; he imitated their methods and only timidly dared be himself. His three-voice

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"*Mass*," in this respect, is very characteristic. How many borrowed formulas it displays!

It was his organ that saved Franck. At first, in Notre-Dame de Lorette, and then in Sainte-Clothilde, he isolated himself, he dwelt in seclusion, far from the crowd and the masters of his own day. He harked straight back to Bach, and abandoned himself to his instinct: he withdrew more and more from his contemporaries.

Then, as he grew more conscious of his genius, and painfully developed it by an effort of inward meditation, without aid or support, a vacuum was created around him. He was not understood; he spoke a language which seemed devoid of sense. His oratorios, "*The Redemption*," "*The Beatitudes*," put public and critics to flight. When he was appointed professor of the organ class at the Conservatoire in 1872, it was merely because of his instrumental virtuosity; as a composer he was mistrusted; his colleagues treated him as an enemy. When there was a vacancy in the composition class, Ernest Guiraud was preferred to him. In compensation he was appointed, when fifty-eight, officer of the Legion of Honor. In 1889 his *Symphony*, played at the concerts of the Conservatoire, made musicians shrug their shoulders. "First of all, does one use an English horn in a symphony?" said one of them. Gounod magistroly declared that in this work, "the affirmation of impotence is elevated to a dogma." It was in the year of his death, in 1890, that César Franck scored his first great success at the *Société Nationale* with the first performance of his *Quartet*. The entire audience, transported, rose to applaud him. "There," good father Franck cried, happily, "the public at last is beginning to understand me!"

Thus César Franck had to blaze his trail quite by himself, without a guide; on the contrary, compelled to struggle against a host of material obstacles and the ill-wishers who joined to discourage him, without the consolation of a single success. He, like old Bach, worked for himself, in the seclusion of his modest and laborious existence, far removed from the world and from glory, uncomplainingly content with his fate.

Until he was fifty César Franck produced little else but

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promises: his four *Trios* for violin and 'cello (1841-1842), "*Ruth*" (1843-1846), the three-part "*Mass*" (1860), the "*Six pièces pour grand orgue*" (1860-1862). We will not mention works of lesser importance. It was not until he had entered upon his fiftieth year that he composed his masterpieces:

- 1871-1872. "*Rédemption*," poem-symphony (at 48).
- 1874. "*Rédemption*" (second version).
- 1876. "*Les Éolides*," symphonic poem.
- 1878. "*Three pieces*," for pipe-organ.
- 1878-1879. *Quintet*, piano and strings (at 56-57).
- 1869-1870. "*Les Béatitudes*," oratorio (at 47-57).
- 1881. "*Rébecca*," biblical scena.
- 1882. "*Le Chasseur maudit*" ("The Accursed Huntsman"), symphonic poem.
- 1884. "*Les Djinns*," symphonic poem, for piano and orchestra.
- 1884. "*Prélude*," "*Choral et Fugue*," for piano (at 62).
- 1882-1885. "*Hulda*," an opera in four acts and an epilogue.
- 1885. "*Variations symphoniques*," piano and orchestra.
- 1886. *Sonata* for piano and violin (at 64).
- 1886-1887. "*Prélude, Aria et Finale*," for piano (at 64-65).
- 1887-1888. "*Psyché*," symphonic poem.
- 1886-1888. *Symphony in B minor* (at 64-66).
- 1889. *Quartet*, for strings (at 67).
- 1888-1890. "*Ghisèle*," an uncompleted lyric drama.
- 1890. *Three Chorales*, for organ (at 68).

Considered in relation to the surroundings amid which it developed, Franck's art is characterized by its disdain for facile success and contempt for established convention.

He uses none of those melodic conventions, those little four-measure phrase endings which repeat and imitate each other with wearisome symmetry, those looked-for stops, those foregone reprises and inevitable resolutions, all uniquely written for memnotic convenience. The first phrase of the César Franck *Sonata* is twenty-seven measures long. One of his disciples, *Leken*, wrote with pride: "The melody of the second

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movement of my sonata is twenty-seven measures long. The first theme of my quartet comprises forty-six measures! Old Johann Sebastian Bach had reached the point of writing melodies of such length that a single presentation, from the first to the last note, was sufficient to constitute a musical composition."

Franck abandoned harmonic conventions, methods learned by heart, modulations universal in their application, stereotype cadences. He wished to create a harmony which was altogether his own. He made notable use of an altogether novel freedom in modulation, and "chromaticism" offered him resources the extent of whose variety was quite unsuspected by most. He lent the interrelation of the keys in the development of a work an expressive value of which no clear idea hitherto had been formulated.

He abandoned architectural conventions, immutable forms, decided upon in advance. Each work must have its own original plan. If we examine his *Sonata* and his *Quartet* from this point of view, we are, first of all, astonished by the novelty shown in their collective building-up, as well as by the flexibility of a technic which, while solidly assuring the unity of the whole, takes away nothing from liberty of detail. In addition, Franck gives his chamber-music, as Wagner does his music dramas, a *cyclic* character. The *Sonata* is not made up of juxtaposed parts which harmonize with each other for better or for worse. The same themes circulate from beginning to end of his work; starting with the very first page we have organic elements whence, as from a fecundating seeding, springs up a rich harvest of ulterior development.

César Franck was a romanticist. He was profoundly influenced by Beethoven in his last manner, and by Richard Wagner—but also by Johann Sebastian Bach, and this gives him a decidedly complex physiognomy.

Since Beethoven, nothing as rich, as profound, as moving had been written in the domain of chamber-music and the symphony. His works are most richly and powerfully imaginative, show the most unexpected fantasy, display the most troubling and human passion.

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Yet they also possess a mystic serenity, revealing an ingenuous believer, whose faith is unquestioning, a primitive soul, and this music of belief, so naïve and so robust, recalls, in the loftiness of its thought, the breadth of its inspiration, in its elaboration and the finish of detail in its beautiful collective line, our wonderful Gothic cathedrals.

His kind heart and the value of his teachings had drawn a large group of faithful disciples about César Franck. He taught them the secret of the architectural beauties of music, as well as respect for their art, the conscience of good craftsmanship.

* * *

Alexis de Castillon (1838-1873), at first an officer, took up music later in life. He wrote a *Quintet* and a *Quartet* for strings and piano; a *String Quartet*, a *Sonata* for piano and violin, songs, etc. Together with Saint-Saëns and a few others, he was one of the founders of the *Société Nationale de musique* (1871). Castillon's output is somewhat mixed. It contains pages of the first order, as a rule very romantic, picturesquely poetic, with a clearly defined melodic outline and a very marked rhythm.

Emmanuel Chabrier (1842-1894), too, at first took up the study of music as an amateur. He made his début in 1877, with an operetta, "*L'Étoile*." In 1881 he was the choral leader at the Concerts Lamoureux. In 1883 his rhapsody "*España*" scored a notable success. He then wrote "*Gwendoline*" (Brussels, 1886) and "*le Roi malgré lui*" (*Opéra-Comique*, 1887) for the dramatic stage. Chabrier stood in intimate communion with the Franckist group; yet, owing to his inspiration and his conception of musical art, he does not derive from Franck. He was a composer rich in imaginative gifts, with a brilliant fancy, a very enjoyable comic vein, and a glad exuberance whose ingenuity and wit rescued him from a certain trend toward the vulgar, to which his free and easy, "good-fellow" character inclined him. He found a thousand inventions of detail—rhythmic, harmonic, and orchestral—which entertain the ear. He was above all surprisingly vital. Chabrier had begun to open up a new road. In some ways he prepared the coming dis-

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coveries of Claude Debussy, and the advent of musical impressionism. Yet in most instances he showed a violence in color and an almost "disorderly" frankness in expression which are the very opposite of Debussy's delicacy and restraint. In this he was more akin to the young French musicians who, renouncing expressionism, seek to develop effects of power and crudity. At all events, Chabrier's "*España*" and his delightful "*Pièces pittoresques pour le piano*" turned French art toward a very different ideal from that which hitherto had been cultivated in the symphony and in chamber-music.

Henri Duparc (born in 1848) was one of the first musicians who worked (even before 1870) under Franck's guidance. He is known only through a symphonic poem, "*Lénore*" (1875), and numerous melodies, among which "*l'Invitation au Voyage*" (1871), "*Phidylé*," "*la Vie antérieure*," "*La Vague et la Cloche*," are surely among the most beautiful songs which have ever been written in France. A choice musical diction, formal perfection, great visions and great passions, as well as subtle and refined emotions, a melancholy somewhat delicate and sickly, yet ever breathing a profound inspiration, a large and vibrant phrase, are the qualities which turn these few pages into one of the most precious monuments of modern French art. Why is it that a nervous affection impossible to cure should have condemned such a musician to silence since the year 1885?

* * *

Vincent d'Indy was born in Paris, March 27, 1851. His family, an old nobiliary one, has its origin in the Ardèche. As a child he spent his vacation every year in the Vivarais mountains, in the Cevennes. An ardent love for the province of his forebears filled his soul. We may imagine his wanderings through the pine woods, balmy beneath the sun, across moor and heather, amid the sheep and their shepherds, and, when fatigued, his reveries, on some high tableland whence he could look out over broad horizons toward the Rhone, the snowy peaks of the Alps towering in the distance. Impressions deeply graven, unforgettable recollections!

He had lost his mother at birth. His father, Count d'Indy, remarried; and Vincent was brought up by his grandmother,

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Mme. Théodore d'Indy, an excellent musician, who had him begin with the piano when nine years old. Diémer and Marмонтel were his teachers. He then studied harmony with Lavignac.

In 1869 d'Indy met Duparc, who revealed Wagner to him, and the two friends, who lived next door to each other, deciphered the works of the great masters, the Bach *Passions*, in particular, in their little intimate reunions.

After the war of 1870 d'Indy asked César Franck to give him lessons, and entered his organ class at the Conservatoire in 1873. He obtained a second, then a first accessit in 1875.

Eager to add to his knowledge in every direction, and in spite of a financial situation which rendered it unnecessary for him to make music his profession, he first secured a position as organist at Saint-Leu, then as kettle-drummer, and later choral director at the Concerts-Colonne. He travelled in Germany, entered into relations with Liszt, and was present at the first performances of the "*Nibelungen Ring*" in Bayreuth (1876). He joined the *Société Nationale*, and was first its secretary, then its president. In the end he was offered a chair of composition at the Conservatoire, but refused it to devote himself entirely to the *Schola Cantorum* (founded in 1896, in Paris, by Bordes, Guilmant, and Vincent d'Indy).

In his life, altogether given over to art, the most important dates are those of the composition of his works:

1879-1881. "*Wallenstein*," symphonic trilogy, orchestra.

1881. "*Poème des Montagnes*," piano.

1882. "*Helvetia*," three waltzes, piano.

1885. "*Chant de la Cloche*," dramatic legend, chorus and orchestra.

1886. "*Symphonie cèvenole*," on a French mountain air, orchestra and piano.

1887. *Trio*, piano, clarinet, and 'cello.

1889. "*Tableaux de voyage*," thirteen pieces, piano.

1890. "*First Quartet*," for strings.

1889-1895. "*Fervaal*," opera (*Théâtre de la Monnaie*, Brussels, 1897).

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1897. "*Second Quartet*," for strings.
1897. "*Istar*," symphonic variations, orchestra.
1898-1901. "*L'Étranger*," opera (*Théâtre de la Monnaie*, Brussels, 1903).
1903. "*Second Symphony*," in B flat.
1904. *Sonata*, piano and violin.
1905. "*Jour d'été sur la montagne*," orchestra.
1907. *Sonata*, in E major, piano.
1916-1918. "*Third Symphony: De Bello Gallico*."
1908-1915. "*le Mystère de Saint Christophe*," oratorio (Paris, Opéra, 1920).
1918-1921. "*Poèmes des rivages*," orchestra.

In all, we find in every form works relatively few in number, yet deeply considered and meditated.

Vincent d'Indy, incidentally, has not given all his time to composition. He has devoted much of it—the greatest part, perhaps—to the organization of musical education in the *Schola* which he founded, as well as to an active propaganda for the forgotten or unknown masterpieces of the great masters of the past, through concert audition and publication. Like César Franck, Vincent d'Indy is still the head of a school and an apostle, yet in a different manner. With Franck, all was sentiment rather than thought, and, for all that he influenced those about him, it was not with a predetermined will to make converts. He could not help but communicate to those who surrounded him his own artistic fervor and æsthetic intuitions. Vincent d'Indy has a clear and systematic intelligence, a tenacious will-power; he is as much the man of action as the artist. In one way this is to be regretted. For the time which he gives up to the realization of his practical ideas is lost to composition. Yet this, too, is part of his glory. His life is a fine one; he is a man of character. His name is great, not merely because it is that of a remarkable musician, but also because of the moral values for which it stands.

His art in its turn is valuable, not only because of its purely æsthetic qualities, but because it expresses his definite artistic convictions, a whole concept of man and the universe, and be-

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cause it is part and parcel of one of the most noble and most moving preoccupations of a great soul.

This soul is reflected in a very expressive physiognomy: a high forehead, a clear and ardent glance, afire with youth, a determined chin; something a little timid and awkward in manner, together with a quality of the naïve and almost infantine in voice and laugh. Vincent d'Indy is truly the ardent and aggressive man of belief, a trifle innocent in his actions and his works.*

In his works as in his life, the will dominates. It constitutes the most outstanding trait of his personality, the one which must be emphasized first of all.

This deliberate will-power on the part of the artist is the outgrowth of a natural force in himself. We have no more robust musician. His is a healthy vigor, deriving from his race and temperament, the vigor of a man still close to the soil; we might almost say a peasant vigor.

In truth, Vincent d'Indy is not acquainted with the graces

* One might say that this man belonged to another age and had "a Gothic soul." And, in fact, when we open his *Cours de composition musicale*, it seems as though certain portions had been written by a thirteenth-century monk. "The principles of all art," so he says, "is purely religious in its nature." His whole admiration goes out to the Middle Ages and its art of faith, its anonymous art, whose author humbly effaces himself. He compares with it the haughty and individualistic art of the Renaissance, and sees in the latter an undeniable degeneration. The spirit of free choice, the spirit of the Reformation spoils everything. If he admires Johann Sebastian Bach, it is not "because, but in spite of the withering spirit of the Reformation." Religion is necessary to the artist; not the first religion which lies at hand, but the only true religion, the supreme religion, the Roman Catholic religion. It would be impossible to be more dogmatic.

And the dogmas of the church find their equivalents or symbols in the artistic doctrine of Vincent d'Indy. The *Trinity* is not merely the essential character of the Divine Nature, it turns up again everywhere in art. There are *three* periods of production in the artist's life. There are *three* styles: the decorative, the architectural, and the expressive. There are *three* artistic virtues: Faith, Hope, and Charity. Faith in God and in one's art; Hope in the future, for there is nothing to be expected of the present; and Charity, because the one principle of all creation is Love.

This believer necessarily carries over his *traditionalist* views into his art, yet does so in a very original manner. He is not opposed to progress. He governs himself by his knowledge of the evolutions which have already occurred. He founds his theory of musical composition on the history of musical form.

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of the drawing-room. He is not a frequenter of the Paris *salons*. He is too much the man of his natal province and mountains. He has their rudeness of soul. His speech is soft and seems timid. Yet listen to his music! How imperative is its tone, how direct its language, lacking reticences, far removed from the elegant evasions of worldly politeness. This artist, of ancient lineage, whose art in certain respects is so haughty, so self-sufficient, is in others very close to the people. He knows how to depict the multitude, its gross diversions, its savage passions. Even his *divertissements*, his more playful compositions, retain this masculine and fiery character, this somewhat brutal frankness. His is not the cleverness of the superrefined, but the ingenuity of the innocent, on occasion so complex.

Nor does his power break forth momentarily. It lies as much and more in his continuity of development, in the architectural solidity rather than in the first elements of his inspiration. It is a vivifying sap which spreads and circulates, creating powerful organisms.

This power does not exclude tenderness; yet it is an ardent tenderness which does not abandon itself to prolonged languors or insipid effusions, but rises in outbursts which lead toward action or the repose of conclusions definitely pondered. They are always the fixed and clear-cut views of a will thoroughly self-possessed, either active or immobile, yet never undecided.

His nature has nothing of the purely contemplative. His works, whether he call them sonatas or symphonies, are essentially dramas.

They are dramas in which religious belief often plays the leading part. And it is no longer the simple, ingenuous, purely sentimental faith of Franck. The will again manifests itself. It is a logically established, doctrinal faith to which the artist subscribes, and to which he attempts to make others conform.

It is impossible to maintain a faith without great struggles. The inner battle against a violently passionate nature makes itself felt in this believer, and is reflected in his works in sudden pauses, salient angles, pitiless lines. They are works tormented, which attract us the more because of the fact, full of a

savory bitterness for those who have possessed themselves of their substantial meaning.

These dramas of inner life are, as a rule, presented to us in an extremely poetic framework and decoration. There is romanticism of every kind in this art, in its character, so profoundly impassioned, as well as in that quality of sentiment which reigns in it, a romanticism more specifically French than that of César Franck. César Franck lived enshrined in his intimate visions, his heart was deaf to every appeal of the senses. Vincent d'Indy hears all the voices which sound from without. He has true French vivacity of sensation. He is not indifferent to any of the charms of exterior reality, and is a musical landscape-painter of the first order. The music he writes is thoroughly impregnated with the rude fragrance of his Vivarais mountains.

He has a deep love for Nature. He loves her, not like the town-dweller who understands her only through the free interpretations of art, but as a rustic, living close to the earth, whose thoughts and feelings are born of a tenacious attachment to the soil his foot first trod, and who has never broken his congenital tie.

Passionately and obstinately a native of the Cevennes, habituated, like the folk of his country, to assiduous toil, to painful labor patiently realized, he disciplines the outbursts of his heart and makes them serve his ripely premeditated designs. His is the clear vision of a luminously exact ideal, and he attains it in the surest manner, raising the lofty monument of his dominating genius to the very skies.

* * *

Ernest Chausson (1855-1899) was the opposite of Vincent d'Indy. He was by nature restless and hesitant. "His attitude," says one of his friends, "was very unpretentious; his face was kind, open and clean-cut, with melancholy gray eyes, a mouth delicate and smiling beneath his mustache; a far-away, deeply veiled glance, however, contradicted his lively manner, his independent profile and carriage." Besides an opera, "*le Roi Arthus*," Chausson wrote a *symphony*, a large number of

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songs, and, in particular, a *quartet* and a *sextet* for piano and strings which are his most perfected works. His music is charming, very tender and warm in tone, and most refined and delicate in feeling.

Guillaume Lekeu (1870-1894) was born at Heusy, near Vevières. A Belgian, like César Franck, he did not remain in his own land. His parents established themselves in Poitiers in 1879, and he attended the lyceum there until, having been made a baccalaureate of philosophy, he went to Paris in 1888. Beethoven had revealed the soul of music to him when he was only fourteen. Once his literary and scientific studies concluded, he made the acquaintance of César Franck, who agreed to give him two composition lessons every week. When he died, at the age of twenty-four, carried off by typhoid fever, he had written a "*Fantaisie symphonique*" on two Angevin popular airs, a *sonata* for violin and piano, three "*Poèmes*" for voice, and two movements of a *quartet* for piano and strings.

Lekeu was a musician of power. If his compositions at times seem somewhat confused, somewhat disordered, at others how great is their melodic abundance, what impassioned violences, what delicate tenderness they display! What might not have been expected from such a genius, had he succeeded in reaching maturity!

The following composers are also connected with the Franckist movement: **Pierre de Bréville** (1861); **Charles Bordes** (1863-1909), founder of the *Chanteurs de Saint-Gervais* and the *Schola Cantorum*; **Guy Ropartz** (1864); **Louis de Serres** (1864). In his organ class at the Conservatoire, César Franck counted among his pupils **Samuel Rousseau**; **Gabriel Pierné**, the composer of those charming choral poems "*la Croisade des enfants*" and "*les Enfants de Bethléem*"; **Auguste Chapuis**, general inspector of singing in the schools of the city of Paris; **Dallier**; **Tournemire**; and others. The master also influenced his bosom friend, the great organist **Alexandre Guilmant**, and the violinists **Ysaye** and **Armand Parent**.

Because of their special significance, we must consider apart two musicians, neither of them a Franck pupil, yet whose close affinity with the Franckist group deserves to be stressed. Both

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offer the peculiarity, exceptional in members of the contemporary French school, of frequently reacting directly to Beethoven's inspiration.

Paul Dukas (1865) studied at the Conservatoire, where he was the pupil of Théodore Dubois and Ernest Guiraud. In 1888 he was awarded the second prize at the Roman competition. His works are not at all numerous: two overtures to "*King Lear*" (1888), and for "*Polyeucte*" (1891), a "*Symphonie in C major*" (1896), "*l'Apprenti-Sorcier*," a scherzo after Goethe's ballad (1897), a "*Sonata in E flat*" for the piano (1903), "*Variations sur un thème de Rameau*," for piano (1903), "*Ariane et Barbe-Bleue*" (*Opéra-Comique*, May 10, 1907), and a ballet, "*la Péri*" (1910). Paul Dukas is a learned musical architect, and his methods of construction at times strangely resemble those of Beethoven in his last manner. His art has a sumptuous richness. It is possible to reproach him with a lack of abandon and tenderness. Yet he has power, and a radiance which at times attains to dazzling splendor. Paul Dukas excels in expressing the nobility of effort, the moral beauty of conscious boldness, of victorious temerity, of heroism. He translates with equal happiness the physical beauty of light and, in apposition, the tragic mystery of darkness.

Albéric Magnard (1865-1914) until his twenty-second year was no more than an amateur. From 1886 to 1888 he attended the classes of Dubois and Massenet at the Conservatoire. Yet his true teacher was Vincent d'Indy, under whose guidance he worked for four years. He wrote four *symphonies* for orchestra, a "*Chant funèbre*," a "*Hymne à la Justice*," a "*Hymne à Venus*"; for the stage, "*Yolande*" (Brussels, 1892), "*Guerceœur*," "*Bérénice*" (*Opéra-Comique*, 1911), and for chamber-music concert a *quintet* for strings and wind instruments, a *sonata* for piano and violin (1901), a *string quartet* (1902-1903), a *trio*, for piano, violin, and 'cello (1904-1905), a *sonata* for piano and 'cello (1908-1910); also some vocal numbers, and the delightful "*Promenades*" for piano composed in 1893, but not played in public until 1911.

Albéric Magnard possessed a nature at once dreamy and active, a very lively sensibility, an ardent imagination, an exalted

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temperament. He dwelt in solitude, a misanthrope. He was an idealist who demanded too much of reality, preferred to flee from it, a religious spirit who repulsed all positive religion, a believer doubled by a sceptic, yet who, notwithstanding, affirmed his deep faith in justice, duty, and the beautiful in a thousand and one secretive ways.

Savage and pessimistic, Magnard wrote music which was acerb, rough, harshly clangorous, with shocks in its appositions, be they rhythmic or harmonic, which recall Beethoven not alone in method, but also in quality of emotion. He did not seek sonority for its own sake. He was indifferent to the mere sensual pleasure of the ear. He did not care to charm. He thought only of eloquently translating the various feelings which agitated his tormented soul. He was altogether introspective. His profoundly human works have no room for the description of Nature. They are those of a moralist rather than of a poet, yet one who does not confine himself to generalities: his is the passionate confidence of a grieving, tender dream of virtue, in which is manifested a singularly engaging personality.

Thus, under the beneficent activating influence of César Franck's genius was developed the most brilliant school of symphonists ever possessed by France.

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CHAPTER XXIV

GABRIEL FAURÉ

Gabriel Fauré belonged to the group brought together by the *Société Nationale* from its origin on. Yet in no wise was he influenced by César Franck. Though a pupil of Saint-Saëns, romanticism seems to have been an unknown quantity to Gabriel Fauré. He is a classic whose process of evolution has led him toward impressionism. By impressionism we mean the art of epitomizing, on the spur of the moment, fugitive shades of sensation and emotion, in contrast to the developed expression of enduring feeling according to the classic and romantic method.

Gabriel Fauré was born in Pamiers (Ariège), May 13, 1845. Three years later his father, a primary school inspector, was appointed director of the Normal School of Foix. In 1854 the boy, who had given evident proofs of his artistic gifts, was sent to Paris to enter the school for religious music founded by Niedermeyer. At the end of his first year of study he had received a piano prize and was also awarded a pension. His teachers at the time, besides Niedermeyer himself, were Dietsch and Camille Saint-Saëns. In August, 1865, after having carried off prizes for piano, organ, harmony, and composition, Gabriel Fauré left the Niedermeyer school and, in January, 1866, became organist of the Saint-Sauveur Church in Rennes.

He did not return to Paris until March, 1870, to take over the position of accompanying organist at the church of Notre-Dame-de-Clignancourt. Then came the war: the young musician enlisted in the *voltingeurs* of the Guard. After the Armistice, he was offered a class at the Niedermeyer school, and at the same time became organist of Saint-Honoré-d'Eylau; then accompanying organist at Saint-Sulpice. In 1877 he succeeded Théodore Dubois as director of the Madeleine choir. During the same year he made a trip to Germany, to be present at the first performance of "*Samson et Dalila*" in the Weimar opera-house.

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During the years which followed he went to Cologne, to Munich; in fact, wherever he could hear Wagner's works performed.

Nevertheless, Gabriel Fauré was now beginning to make a name for himself in Paris as a composer. On February 8, 1873, at the *Société Nationale*, of which he had been a founder, Mme. Edouard Lalo sang his "*Chanson du Pêcheur*." On February 13, 1874, the Colonne Orchestra played his "*Suite orchestrale in A*" (never published), in the Salle Herz. But it was primarily the first performance of his "*Sonata in A*," for piano and violin, op. 13, on July 13, 1878, at the Trocadero chamber-music concerts, which attracted the attention of connoisseurs. On this occasion Saint-Saëns wrote an enthusiastic article, which largely contributed to stress the importance of the event.

For a long time, however, the name of Gabriel Fauré was destined to remain unknown to the great general public. He wrote but little for orchestra, and still less for the dramatic stage. A violin *concerto* was not published until 1879. A *Symphony* in *D* minor, performed at the Concerts-Colonne March 15, 1885, remained in manuscript. Scenic music, like that for "*Caligula*" (1888) and "*Shylock*" (1889), does not suffice, no matter what its merit, to raise a composer to the highest plane. The name of Gabriel Fauré had never appeared on the bill-boards of the *Opéra* or the *Opéra-Comique*. In his "*Prométhée*," performed in the Béziers Arena in 1900 and 1901, the refined musician seemed a trifle hampered by the need of speaking a language intended for crowds and the open air.

Hitherto Gabriel Fauré's true claim to glory, aside from his *sonata*, his two *quartets* for piano and strings (1882 and 1887), and his *requiem* (1887), had rested in his collections of *songs* and his *piano pieces*. The merits of these works were mainly appreciated by the cultured.

The very quality of these earlier admirers of Gabriel Fauré was destined, little by little, to increase the number of his disciples through the power of a contagion which doubled the authority of their judgment.

The functions, the titles, the honors successively accorded this artist mark the growth of his reputation in public opinion. In 1885 the Academy of Fine Arts awarded Gabriel Fauré the

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Chartier Prize for his chamber-music works. In 1892, he succeeded Ernest Guiraud as inspector of fine arts. On June 2, 1896, he became titular organist of the Paris Madeleine, and, on October 10, of the same year, professor of composition, counterpoint, and fugue at the Conservatoire. In June, 1905, he succeeded Théodore Dubois as director of the Conservatoire (an office he resigned in 1920). In 1909 he was elected a member of the Institute and, on December 20, 1910, was promoted to the grade of commander in the Legion of Honor.

Gabriel Fauré still lacked an operatic success, one which it hardly seemed possible for the "musician of intimacy" to attain. He showed a little coquetry by not seeking this kind of distinction until late, and, at the Champs-Élysées theatre, in Paris, he had performed (1913) a "*Pénélope*" which remains one of the masterpieces of the French school. The refinement of its harmonies, the research deployed, and the rare use made of the ancient modes, deprive this moving tragedy of none of its simplicity, power, and melancholy grandeur.

* * *

It would be impossible to form an adequate idea of Fauré's art—as it would of that of Debussy—without taking into account relations of an entirely novel kind, hitherto unknown in France, which developed between poets and musicians at the end of the nineteenth century.

It was toward 1885 that the school of poesy known as the *symbolist* came into being, a school of which Baudelaire (1821–1867) was the precursor, and Paul Verlaine (1844–1896) the most genial representative; one of which, in various ways, Rimbaud, Stéphane Mallarmé, Henri de Régnier, Gustave Kahn, Stuart Merrill, Verhaëren, Maeterlinck, and Albert Samain were adherents.

Among French writers neither classicists nor romanticists, neither Parnassians nor yet realists—with some very rare exceptions—had showed a taste, leaning, or sympathy for music, and their verse or prose had but little need for the commentaries of an idiom less exact than their own. They were too greatly attached to the literal meaning of words, to the precise

images words evoke, to all outlined and pictured in the exterior aspect of things. If they expressed emotions, it was always through the medium of clearly defined ideas, with fixed contours, carved in relief like visual figures.

The symbolists demand that poesy have the right to dream. They are idealists. They do not turn their backs on reality, yet they wish to gaze beneath its surface, and "to penetrate the quotidian mystery which makes up life itself." Underlying bare facts they divine the secret communion of things. Between the lines of the most commonplace happening they read the hidden relations of beings or of our emotions. They endeavor to penetrate the inconscient. They outpass the experience of the senses common to all. And, in order to express this obscurer under side of the actual, in default of direct language, they use the symbol. Incidentally, they appeal only to a chosen group capable of experiencing the same rare sensations, the same refined emotions, the same penetrating reflections, and subtle enough to grasp the indirect allusions with which their verses abound.

Finally, they not only endeavor to express the inexpressible, but also to give the language they use a beauty in itself, independent of all meaning. They strive to bring the word, "gravid with ideas," back to its "emotional sense," that its choice may be dictated by its purely musical values alone.

These poets called in the musicians to their aid. Gabriel Fauré, drawing inspiration from Verlaine's *Bonne Chanson*, or from certain of Samain's stanzas, was thus led to write some of his most admirable pages.

* * *

Gabriel Fauré, in one sense, is a classic, yet not, like his master Saint-Saëns, a classic in the German meaning of the word. He imitates neither Haydn, Mozart, nor Beethoven. And, in the case of the German classicists, how great their romanticism already is! What predominant importance they attached to sentiment, even though it were shown only in the complaisance with which the melodic effusion was regarded!

Gabriel Fauré is classic in another way, in a French way, in

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the manner of Couperin and Rameau—and there were no purer classics than these. His phrase is confined to firm and clearly defined outlines. It is never inflated beyond the limits which a valid heed for right proportion assigns it. Nor does it ever cling to evasion.

His idiom is always moderate in tone. It is the conversation of well-bred society, in which the voice is not unduly raised. It makes itself understood by suggestion. There is no need to shout in order to express the most ardent sentiments. To do so would be to show a lack of good form. Correctness and propriety of expression are the supreme law, and taken for granted. Gabriel Fauré knows none of the vehemences, none of the exaggerations, none of the outbursts of heart or imagination which characterize the romanticists.

And, as in the case of the French classics, like Racine or Rameau, there is no refinement unknown to him. His alert and delicate sensibility is capable of every subtlety. It seizes on every nuance, it lends itself to every analysis. It allows him to penetrate the most recondite beauties of the art of the symbolists, and become one of its best interpreters.

It is then that to his classic virtues he adds the charm of a curiosity which voluptuously abandons itself to every variety of sensation or sentiment that makes up the complexity of the modern soul.

The richness of the poetic content of his works, the multiplicity of his aims, are hidden beneath forms extremely simple in appearance, and the uninitiate may mistake and regard them as barren, insignificant, vague, and lacking in depth. In order to appreciate them real judgment is an essential. Even Fauré's highly remarkable clarity of plan is not always apparent to those themselves wanting in the requisite finesse, and the impression of indecision may dominate without the hearer experiencing its delightful savor, resulting from the contrast between the means employed and the result obtained.

There is no music more exact in its detail, no music in which the position and the value of each note is more carefully calculated, nor is there any other which, when essential, conveys a better idea of imprecision, softness, of an encompassing mys-

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tery. The nature of his harmonic concatenation—given the fleeting character of the rhythms—plays a great part in this very special effect of indetermination: the functional ambiguity of certain chords, their unexpected resolution, the employ of obsolete modes, disturb our feeling for tonality in such wise that until the closing cadence is reached, we believe that we have been progressing at haphazard, and have been losing ourselves in a maze which has no goal. Yet the composer has been leading us with a sure hand, although by the most disconcerting byways whither it was his wish we should be guided. And our surprise declares itself together with our satisfaction at having been so cleverly deceived.

Precise and meticulous, a chiseler of jewels minutely faceted, severe yet rich in charm, a friend of well-defined forms and of indeterminate expression, Gabriel Fauré has developed his own musical idiom, one which is altogether personal; he has created masterpieces in the domain of chamber-music and the lyric drama; and above all he has dowered France with an incomparable collection of *lieder*, which makes it possible to term him the "French Schumann." *

It might be added that, as regards certain aspects of his talents, his audacities, always well-pondered, by the way, his literary sympathies, his sobriety and discretion, Gabriel Fauré in some sort announces the advent of Claude Debussy and prepares the way for him.

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*Allowing for all the differences which separate a Frenchman and a classicist from a German and a romanticist, the analogy lies principally in the part played by the two musicians, and in their importance, each in his own day and in his own land.

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CHAPTER XXV

RUSSIAN MUSIC

Three great musical nations were the only ones which counted in the history of art during the eighteenth century: France, Italy, and Germany. If, by chance, some artist was born in another country, he hastened to leave his native land, went to France, Italy, or Germany, and adopted the traditions of the people whom he wished to please. It was thus that the Czechs **Stamitz** and **Dussek** became German musicians. And even the difference in the Italian, French, and German styles tended to disappear toward the close of the eighteenth century. Gluck dreamed of a kind of international music, neutral in character.

During the nineteenth century, on the contrary, nationalistic tendencies were accentuated in every land, and we see Polish, Russian, Czech, Danish, Norwegian, Spanish, and Swiss musicians striving to express the genius peculiar to their race in their works.

The Russian school in particular, founded by Glinka, assumed an importance of the first order soon after his advent and exercised an undeniable influence on the ulterior development of music in the other European lands, especially in France.

* * *

Russia possesses an abundant repertoire of ancient **Folk-Songs**. These songs are most peculiar in character. They are often very restricted in range, not exceeding the intervals of a fifth or sixth. The theme, on occasion very brief, may confine itself to the repetition of two measures. The tonalities are those of ancient Greek music, notably the *Dorian* (E-E), the *Hypodorian* (A-A), and the *Hypophrygian* (G-G). There is an admixture of Oriental elements. The songs are sung by one voice or in chorus. In the latter case, the traditional harmony

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is very original. They are accompanied on the *balalaïka*, a species of triangular theorbo, with the embellishments peculiar to a member of the oboe family.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century a start was made toward collecting all this musical folk-lore. Pratsch, in 1796, published 149 songs (this collection supplied Beethoven with his "Russian themes"); Daniloff Kircha, in 1804, published Cossack songs; Balakireff, in 1866, some 40 melodies; Rimsky-Korsakoff, 100 melodies, and so forth.

Many of these songs of the people were not merely sung: they were danced and acted. These might be called little dramas. The chorus formed a circle around the solo singers (at the same time actors), who played the parts of the drunken husband, the gossiping woman, the acrimonious mother-in-law, of the daughter, her lover, all the personages usually occurring in these comic or tragic scenes.

The Russians at an early period also had **religious music**, side by side with their folk-music. Saint John of Damascus had given it shape and form during the seventh and eighth centuries. The Greek ritual interdicted the use of instruments, even of the organ, in church. Hence the choruses sang without accompaniment. In this *a cappella* song the Russians, gifted with a spontaneous musical intelligence and fine natural voices, excelled. It is in Russia that we find those extraordinarily deep bass voices which descend to the *A* below the contra-octave. During the eighteenth century, **Berezovsky** and **Bortniansky** were the most famous directors of the church choirs at the imperial court.

As to **profane music**, artistic in character, it was only at a later period that it assumed a more important place in Russian life. Peter the Great gathered a small concert orchestra, which played the works of Telemann, Keiser, Schütz, Corelli, Tartini, etc. Italian opera was introduced by the Empress Anna Evnovna, in 1737. In 1755 the Empress Elizabeth Petrovna conceived the idea of creating a "Russian Opera." This was not easy: there were neither singers nor opera-composers of Russian birth to be found. So Italian composers set to work writing music in the Italian style to Russian texts. Elizabeth's "Rus-

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sian Opera" was "Russian" only verbally. Under Catherine II, Paesiello passed happy years in Petrograd. He founded a conservatoire in Katerinoslav. Catherine II herself wrote five opera librettos, one of them, "*Fedoula*," being set to music by a Russian composer, **Fomine**, who wrote several other works of the same kind. At the same period, **Matinsky**, **Boulane**, somewhat later **Volkoff**, **Alabieff**, and the brothers **Titoff**, wrote for the stage. In 1803, under Alexander I, French opera, with Boïeldieu, for a moment supplanted Italian opera in Petrograd.

It was only with **Glinka** that Russian opera began to take on a truly national character in a musical sense.

Glinka was born of a noble family. In his childhood he dreamed only of music. He was educated at the pedagogic Institute for the Sons of the Nobility. There he learned Latin, French, German, English, and Persian. He played the piano and violin. His studies completed, he amused himself, upon his return beneath the paternal roof, by conducting a small orchestra which played the works of Cherubini, Méhul, Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. He then entered the ministry of roads and communications, and began to frequent the artistic world, where he met Prince Galitzin and the Tolstoi brothers. On occasion he figured as a singer and actor. In 1830 he set out for Italy. "Homesickness for my native land," he said at a later period, "little by little led me to think of writing Russian music." Then he went to Berlin, where he studied composition with Dehn. It was his fixed wish to create a genuine Russian national opera. "Not only with regard to subject, but musically as well, do I want my dear compatriots to be entirely at home in it." He returned to Petrograd, and entered into relations with Pouschkine, Gogol, and Koubolnik. Soon Joukovski suggested a subject to him: "Ivan Soussanine," whose story may be epitomized as follows: In 1613 the Poles invade Russia, seeking to seize the person of the young emperor, Mikhael Fedorovitch Romanoff. Ivan Soussanine sacrifices himself in order to save his sovereign. He leads the Poles astray in an impenetrable forest, while he advises the emperor to gain a safe hiding-place. Intermezzos are supplied by a festival in the Polish camp, and the entry of the czar into his capital.

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"*La Vie pour le Tzar*" ("A Life for the Czar") was performed for the first time on November 27, 1836.

The music of this opera was still quite composite in character. The Italian influence dominated in the majority of the arias sung by the principals. Yet folk-songs frankly Russian in type also were presented in the score, with their rhythms in $5/4$ and $7/4$ time, and their strange harmonizations. "*A Life for the Czar*" scored a decided success, and one which had a prodigious repercussion throughout Russia, despite opposition on the part of a section of high society. It was "coachman's music," said aristocratic Petrograd amateurs.

In 1842 Glinka's "*Rousslan and Ludmilla*," whose libretto is mediocre, but which is often superior in musical value to "*A Life for the Czar*," was performed. In certain pages there are brilliant Oriental color effects to be admired.

Dargomyzhsky (1813-1868) continued the work of Glinka. When a child, he alarmed his parents; they thought he would be a mute. He did not begin to talk until he was five years old. A little later he amused himself composing scenes for a puppet theatre. He became a distinguished musical amateur. Then, after having met Glinka, he began to work in earnest. He was the composer of "*The Roussalka*" and "*The Stone Guest*." Dargomyzhsky played an important part as president of the *Société de musique russe*, and exercised a very happy influence on the young artists who, succeeding him, banded together to take charge of the nationalist musical movement in Russia, those artists known as the "**Five**": César Cui, Balakireff, Borodine, Moussorgsky, and Rimsky-Korsakoff, the "powerful group," as they called themselves; the "coterie," as they were termed by their enemies.*

It was in 1856 that Balakireff and César Cui met and became friends. They were joined soon after by their companions. "Dramatic music," so they said, "should always possess an

* Serov (1820-1871), was especially valuable as a polemist. He accomplished much as a fighter for the new thoughts, for a national opera as opposed to the reactionary ideas of a portion of the public, which still adhered to Italian opera. He himself wrote a few operas.

Lvov (1799-1870), was the composer of the "*Russian National Hymn*," written to order in 1833, for the Emperor Nicolas.

intrinsic value, like absolute music, one derived from its text." They wished to prevent the sacrifice of musical beauty for the benefit of spectacular splendor and the external entertainment represented by the ballet, for the virtuosity of the operatic soprano, the "stunts" of the tenor with his high C sharp.

César Cui (1835-1918), professor of the art of fortification at the Engineering Academy of Petrograd, played a part quite subordinate among the "Five." His operas, "*le Prisonnier du Caucase*," "*le Fils du Mandarin*," "*William Ratcliffe*," "*Angelo*," "*le Flibustier*," all said and done, are merely estimable works.

Balakireff (1836-1910), after studying mathematics and natural history seriously, taking Glinka's personal advice, devoted himself exclusively to music. Balakireff's influence on his companions, who formed the group of the "Five," was at first a dominating one; he was their educator. Gifted with a musical instinct, prodigiously sure, he was almost entirely ignorant of the art of composition. He had practically no theoretical knowledge, and he taught that experience could be adequately acquired by practice. In his youth his preference inclined to Glinka, Schumann, the Beethoven of the last period, and Berlioz. He despised Haydn, Mozart, and Chopin, and hardly knew Liszt and Wagner. In 1862 he founded a free school of music in Petrograd, and from 1867 to 1870 he conducted the concerts of the *Société de musique russe*. He then became director of the singers of the imperial chapel. His most notable works were a symphonic poem, "*Thamar*," music for "*King Lear*," and an Oriental fantasy for piano, "*Islamey*."

Borodine (1834-1887) descended on his father's side from the Princes Imeretinsky, that is to say the last kings of Imeretia, "the loveliest of those ancient kingdoms of the Caucasus, where the flora of the Orient flourished in the shade of eternal snows." The ancient kings of Imeretia boasted their descent from David, and bore the harp and the sling in their coat of arms. Borodine was at first an army physician, then professor of chemistry at the Academy of Medicine and Surgery in Petrograd. He was a curious character, absorbed with the preoccupations of a charity somewhat confused, never finding time to visit his chemical

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laboratory, or, what is still more to be regretted, opportunities for making the most of his admirable musical gifts. "He adopted young children," Rimsky-Korsakoff tells us, "whom he brought up in his house. He took many poor relatives who fell ill or lost their minds into his home. Borodine nursed them, placed them in hospitals, and visited them there. . . . His wife suffered from asthma and did not sleep, and Borodine tended her at night. . . ."

His domestic life was completely disorganized. He ate at all those hours when people do not eat. And when, by chance, Borodine happened to think of turning to the piano, he gave up the idea for fear of waking some parent or friend, "asleep on the couch, or simply stretched out on the floor." It is clear that, under such conditions, Borodine wrote only a small number of works. He left two *symphonies*, a symphonic poem, "*In the Steppes of Central Asia*," some chamber-music, and an unfinished opera, "*Prince Igor*," which Rimsky-Korsakoff and Glazounoff completed, and which was performed in Petrograd in 1890. The subject of "*Prince Igor*" is the expedition of the Russian princes against the Polovtsi, a savage tribe identical in origin with the ancient Turks, who invaded Russia in the twelfth century. The score of "*Prince Igor*" comprises pages of surprising beauty, notably the famous "*Dances polovtsiennes*," whose charm is so penetrant and whose vitality so intense.

Rimsky-Korsakoff (1844-1909), at first a naval officer, devoted himself entirely to music at an early age. In 1871, when he had as yet benefited only by the advice of Balakireff, he was appointed professor of composition at the Petrograd Conservatoire. He himself admitted at the time that he was almost wholly ignorant of what he was to teach. In particular, he had no more than a very vague idea of counterpoint and fugue. He set to work courageously, however, and little by little became a remarkable technician. Rimsky-Korsakoff, finally, was the only one of the "Five," who took the trouble to study the theory of his art in detail.

His considerable output comprises the symphonic poems, "*Sadko*," "*Antar*," "*Schéhêrazade*," a "*Capriccio espagnol*," several *string quartets*, and a large number of operas: "*Pskovit-*

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yanka" ("The Maid of Pskov," 1873), "*Maiskaya hotch*" ("A Night in May," 1880), "*Sniegurotchka*" ("The Snow-Maiden," 1882), "*Mlada*" (1893), "*Notch pered Rozhdestvom*" ("Christmas Eve," 1895), "*Sadko*" (1897), "*Mozart and Salieri*" (1898), "*Boyarina Viera Scheloga*" (1898), "*Tsarskaya neviesta*" ("The Czar's Bride," 1899), "*Tzar Saltan*" (1900), "*Servilia*" (1902), "*Koshtchei bezsmertniy*" ("Koshtchei the Immortal," 1902), "*Pan Voyevoda*" (1905), "*Skazanie o nevidimom gradie Kitezhie i dievie Fevroni*" ("Tale of the Invisible City of Kitezh and the Maid Fevroni," 1906), "*le Coq d'Or*" (1910, posth.).

A close relationship is manifest in the inspiration of **Balakireff**, of **Borodine**, and of **Rimsky-Korsakoff**. Fancy is less spontaneous, perhaps, in the case of the last-named, who devotes more care to solidly balanced construction. Yet we are struck by the points these three artists have in common: the powerful originality of Slavic or Asiatic folk-songs, whose themes in bizarre modes, with their broken rhythms, their capricious outlines, their subtle and passionate sensuality, they imitate and borrow, and whose employ lends their music an incomparable flavor. They possess a marvellous instinct for colorful harmonization and orchestration, and know how to draw all sorts of brilliant, scintillant, ingratiating effects, effects strangely seductive, from the instrumental combination.

Moussorgsky (1839-1881) differs notably in many respects from the musicians with whom he associated in order to constitute a national art.

Moussorgsky was an aristocrat. He was at first an officer, and scored some drawing-room successes as a pianist and composer. At the time he knew nothing of the great classic and romantic masters, and it was Balakireff revealed them to him and made them as familiar to him as they were to his teacher. Moussorgsky took up composition with enthusiasm, and handed in his resignation as an army officer. He died young, in consequence of his excesses, during an attack of delirium tremens. He did not learn harmony, never wished to learn it, nor to master the technic of music, and, little by little, he instinctively discovered his own altogether individual form of writing.

Moussorgsky was an impressionist. He set down life di-

rectly, as his delicate sensibility revealed it to him, from moment to moment. His music always has an object: it always endeavors to tell some particular thing, it has only one expression. We find little in the way of repetition, variation, development, for life neither repeats nor develops itself, it is always different. Moussorgsky was the enemy of all rhetoric and, in a more general way, of "pure music." He applied his conception of musical art especially to the portraiture of the people, whose soul, in turn gentle and resigned and violent and in revolt, he admirably impenetrated. He felt a deep pity for the wretched fate of all human creatures physically or morally ill-equipped, the infirm, and the simple. He had a marvellous instinct for divining the child soul, and one of his masterpieces, "*la Chambre d'enfants*" ("The Nursery"), is a detailed picture of their childish games, dreams, and naïve thoughts.

Moussorgsky did not write much; a few songs, among them, besides "*The Nursery*," "*The Seminarist*," "*Hopak*," "*To the Mushrooms*"; the cycles entitled "*Without Sun*" (1874) and "*The Songs and Dances of Death*" (1875); an opera, "*Boris Godounov*" (1868-1871); and the sketch of another musical drama, "*Chovantchina*." These works contain unique pages. No other composer compares with Moussorgsky for intensity and variety of expression in the notation of the momentary.

Among the contemporaries of the "Five" must be mentioned two mediocre musicians who, during their lifetime, were over-estimated, for both enjoyed immense popularity: **Rubinstein** (1830-1894) and **Tschaikovsky*** (1840-1893). They were prolific composers, whose music is often in detestable taste and, incidentally, German rather than Russian in character. "It

* TRANS. NOTE.—There is much to be said both for and against M. Landormy's statement. Citations from two authoritative French sources will show how opinions differ.

In view of the unequal character of Tschaikovsky's work, his frequent lack of dramatic point and banality, the author's summary of Tschaikovsky's importance seems not unjustified. Combarieu supports it with his statement that, "with the exception of some fifteen greatly diversified piano pieces, which are very original in flavor, the remainder of his output necessarily suffers from the crushing comparisons to which a pseudo-classic, pseudo-romantic art, somewhat cosmopolitan in its character, arrested in its progress half-way toward those heights on which the modern masters reign, is subjected." Lucien Bourguès and Alexandre Déneréaz, on the

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would be a grave error," says César Cui, "to regard Rubinstein as a Russian composer; he is merely a Russian who composes. . . . The poesy, the depth, the tranquil beauty of our national songs remain foreign to him." Tschaikovsky, perhaps, is more racial; yet he did not possess a personality resourceful enough to throw off the yoke of that Germanic art which had influenced him at an early period; besides, he was fond of facile successes.

It is, all said and done, to the "Five" that the honor of really having established the independence of the Russian school is veritably due. Thanks to them, the latter gained a moment doubtlessly unique in its splendor and magnificence.

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other hand, declare that: "What is lacking in Tschaikovsky's art, phonesthetic refinement, the sparkle of alteration, pentaphony and complementary harmony, is compensated for by a sincerity and a psychic veracity profoundly moving. . . . In the expression of the pathetic, Tschaikovsky knows no bounds. The emotional curves of his great orchestral works, instrumented with somewhat ponderous grandeur, are vast, as vast as those of Wagner, and borne along on a formidable dynamism." While the abiding popularity of Tschaikovsky's symphonic compositions on the concert platform is no more valid as a criterion than that of Puccini's operas on the dramatic stage, it is clear that the personal reaction is bound to play a large part in any appraisal of so contemporaneous a composer's achievement.

CHAPTER XXVI

CLAUDE DEBUSSY

Claude-Achille Debussy was born August 22, 1862, at Saint-Germain-en-Laye. His home surroundings were quite unmusical, and his father had destined him for a navy career. Notwithstanding, his musical vocation showed itself at a decidedly early age, and he entered the Conservatoire in 1873. In 1877 he obtained a second piano prize; but all recognition in harmony was refused him. On the other hand, the first prize in accompaniment was awarded him in 1880, and the Roman Prize in 1881, the latter for his cantata, "*l'Enfant prodigue*." Meanwhile he had spent a short time in Russia, which gave him an opportunity of hearing works by Rimsky-Korsakoff, Balakireff and Borodine, and, in particular, the free improvisations of the genuine Russian gypsies.

From Italy Debussy sent on a brace of works to the Institute, "*le Printemps*" and "*la Demoiselle élue*," which latter was in part refused; "*le Printemps*" was looked upon as scandalous. Debussy at once objected to the performance of his "*Demoiselle élue*" at the concert solemnly organized through the offices of the Institute, according to the tradition which thus rewards the Roman Prize winners for their labors; and the first hearing of the work was given by the *Société nationale*.

An old music-lover then called Debussy's attention to "*Boris Godounov*." Soon after, Debussy set to music the "*Ariettes oubliées*" of Verlaine (1888), and Baudelaire's "*Cinq Poèmes*" (1890). He made the acquaintance of Stéphane Mallarmé, whose home was the meeting-place of so many young artists, poets and painters in particular, and the sanctuary of the symbolist movement. There he met Gustave Kahn, Henri de Régnier, Pierre Louys, Francis Viélé-Griffin, Stuart Merrill, Verlaine, Whistler, etc.

Following his instinct, Debussy had approached the artists

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who not only could understand him, but who could also aid him to perfect his intellectual development. In 1892 he wrote his first symphonic poem, "*Prélude à l'après-midi d'un Faune*," inspired by one of Stéphane Mallarmé's poems; and then he set to work to compose his "*Pélleas et Mélisande*," which was destined to keep him busy for ten years. However, in 1893 he produced a *string quartet*, broad and poignant in inspiration; and in 1894 his "*Proses lyriques*," for which he himself had supplied the literary texts:

"La nuit a des douceurs de femme,
Et les vieux arbres, sous la lune d'or,
Songent."*

In 1898 appeared the marvellous "*Chansons de Bilitis*," and the three *Nocturnes* for orchestra, and Debussy's fame began to spread beyond the circle of his more intimate friends. He also essayed musical criticism, in which he displayed a subtle wit, original, concise, clear-cut, and free-spoken.† The performances of "*Pélleas et Mélisande*" at the *Opéra-Comique* (1902) finally revealed the new genius to all musicians.

Thenceforward Debussy was famous. The impassioned discussions which raged about his name merely added to his glory.

He himself led the existence of a recluse, and hardly showed himself. He devoted himself entirely to his work, and one by one, as though regretfully, yearning for a perfection which was never satisfied, he gave his publishers compositions long considered, in which his ambition to give thought its clearest expression in the briefest compass was increasingly evident. The *Préludes* for piano, in this respect, are especially significant.

For a whole year, beginning with August, 1914, Debussy ceased to write.

* "The night holds woman's gentleness,
And the old trees, 'neath a gold moon,
Are dreaming."

† In his critical writings he affirms his predilections, which are significant: he prizes above all else works in good taste. His heroes are Racine, Watteau, Couperin, Rameau, Mozart. He cannot forgive Wagner his grandiloquence, and also reproaches César Franck, declaring that his sentimental effusions betray a lack of good form.

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He resumed his labors and his thoughts, with the combatants at the battle front, said: "They must forgive me! They must admit that the victory may be won in various ways. The way of music is one, a way admirable and fecund."

And he toiled anew with the haste of a man who knows that his days are numbered, a man stricken with an incurable malady. "I wrote," he himself said, "like a madman, like some one who is to die the next morning!"

He was destined to die a few years later (1918), waging against his bodily sufferings, against daily and hourly martyrdom, the heroic struggle of genius which, to its last hour, insists upon its strength and its freedom.

Paintings, photographs, and engravings have popularized Debussy's features. His physiognomy is well known. Who does not recall that tremendously bulging brow, shadowing his mischievous eyes with seriousness, his short yet rather thick nose, above an ironic and sensual mouth, and, in that especially expressive space which unites the wing of the nose with the point of juncture of the lips, that perpetual instability—noticeable even in the fixed lines of a portrait—which expresses all the mobility, all the fleeting vivacity of his impressions?

Such a physiognomy reveals the man: sensitive and spiritual, tender and scoffing, with a profound capacity for emotion hidden beneath the veil of modest reserve, a nature fantastic and dreamy.

* * *

Two **extra-musical influences** contributed to direct Debussy's footsteps in his search for the paths which would lead him to a full outpouring of his originality: that of *symbolist poesy* and of *impressionistic painting*.

Debussy, who, as we have said, was an assiduous frequenter of the gatherings in Mallarmé's home, there found his dislike for the artifices of romanticism confirmed. More and more, he rejected the precepts of that musical rhetoric which is merely the art of development carried to excess, the art of drawing from a theme more than it does or should contain. Like Verlaine, he detested eloquence. He did not wish to take advan-

tage of us. He limits our enjoyment in order to make it the more complete. He is always fearful of wearing out our patience. He is discreet. He speaks in brief.

Again, like Verlaine, Debussy finds

“Rien de plus cher que la chanson grise,
Où l'indécis au précis se joint.”*

He, too, wished to wed

“Le rêve au rêve, et la flute au cor!”†

He took pleasure in a kind of naturalistic revery which attempts to draw from things a poetry eluding the vulgar; yet an immediate, unpremeditated poetry, a poetry not systematically composed by intellectual effort, in the style of romantic poetry, but a naïve poetry, self-born of the spontaneous correlation of sensations, emotions, and images.

Impressionistic painting, too, was not beyond exercising an effect on the formation of Debussy's art.

All are aware that Claude Monet, Renoir, Sisley, Pissaro sought to reconcile their aim of painting modern life in the most prosaic of its details with their deep desire for idealism. Interested in all the elements of our social existence, in industrialized nature as well as in nature unmodified by man, in a locomotive or a factory workshop as well as in a tree or a horse, they reached the point where every object under consideration was concerned, of thinking less of *line*, often ugly or vulgar, than of *color*. Incidentally, the line is invisible in a rapid impression. They made note only of impressions; they intoxicated themselves with color. They acknowledged no black shadows, for every shadow has its color. There was no artificial light in their studios: an object in the open shares in the actual light of the objects surrounding it and which are reflected by it. There was no need of mixing colors on the palette, turning so easily to flat tints: single colors directly juxtaposed.

* “Naught more dear than the song in grays,
Where the undefined and the definite join.”

† “Dream with dream and flute with horn!”

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posed on the canvas are merged by the eye, which unites while regarding them.

And this very thing might be said of Debussy, that he preferred *color* to *line*, that is to say, *harmony* to *melody*. His music at times seems to be composed of tonal splashes in juxtaposition. At any rate, he abandoned the great sentimental themes of romantic music. He, too, noted down his impressions, his fugitive impressions. He acts upon us more through immediate sensation or emotion than through the indirect intermediary of reflection. It seems as though he did not construct, did not design. Ill-disposed critics have accused him of writing amorphous works, a reproach quite evidently undeserved. Nor is composition wanting in his admirably balanced compositions; yet, owing to his remarkable skill, it is not brought to the auditor's attention, and might appear to be absent. What is certain is that Debussy wished to convey to us a sensation of the light, the vague, the unreal, and not to insist on the all too solidly established aspects of reality.*

As to the **musical influences** to which Debussy reacted, they were many in number. First of all were those of his teacher, **Massenet**, still quite noticeable in his earlier works, "*la Demoiselle élue*" and the *Arabesques* for piano, for example.

Then there was **Chabrier's** influence, easily noticeable in the works of the same period, and in places, that of **Wagner**, from which he did not at once free himself. In this connection it is interesting to reread the *Cinq Poèmes* by Baudelaire.

Massenet and Chabrier, the one as regards voluptuous tenderness, the other ironic fantasy, continued to inspire Debussy

* TRANS. NOTE.—In this connection attention may be called to the fact that Eckart von Sydow, in his *Die Kultur der Dekadenz* (pp. 203–206), presents Debussy as the outstanding musical exemplar of decadency in art. "The *negative* preponderates, in his music, as invariably in the analysis of decadent productions; motive, melody, rhythm are wanting. . . . The emotional content of Debussy's most pregnant work ('*Pélleas et Mélisande*'), . . . as well as the musical grammar of his compositions, is still a bone of contention among his friends and enemies. All have recourse to opium, which intoxicates, as a comparison; all agree that this music is evoked by the spirit of weariness, bloodlessness, a spirit molluscular, lamed, nerveless, dragging along; that it is music containing a gray, hopeless, melancholy atmosphere, seemingly flooded with restless exacerbation."

in spirit. Yet their methods soon ceased to suffice for the exigencies of a sensitive nature richer and more varied than their own. Debussy at an early stage realized the necessity of developing a technic very different from that of his French predecessors.

In his researches he was above all guided by the example of the Russians. **Moussorgsky** was mainly responsible for pointing out to him the road to a harmony less restricted, a musical idiom freed from the rules of its ancient logic, and, on occasion, a way of leading vocal melody almost parallel with the outline of ordinary speech, in short intervals, and in relatively rapid utterance.

Rimsky-Korsakoff and **Borodine** gave Debussy a glimpse of all the resources, in part unexplored, of the ancient modes, of the extra-classic scales, and of a novel employ of orchestral means.

It might be added that a freakish French musician, more inventor than creator, **Erik Satie**, the composer of the "*Sarabandes*" (1887), the "*Pieces in the Form of a Pear*," of the "*Beauocratic Sonata*," and other fantastic products of a whimsical yet quite elegantly witty imagination, furnished certain elements of that new language which the composer of "*Pélleas*" used for loftier ends.

* * *

No matter how much credit be given his predecessors and the influences which led him to the path of his discoveries, Debussy, none the less, remains an extraordinary inventor of new procedures, as well as a creator of unexpected emotions.

Never, perhaps, in the whole history of music, has so brusque and radical a change in technic been witnessed. The whole edifice of traditional harmony was overturned.

In place of our individual scales, major and minor, the "connecting ties" common to all melody, we find a host of different scales, scales on different degrees, scales with a lowered or a raised fifth, five-note scales, whole-tone scales, etc.

Instead of the fundamental differentiation between chords as consonant and dissonant, all chords are regarded as con-

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sonant. There are no more resolutions, no more correct and incorrect combinations. The new chords are developed out of the encounter of sounds formerly regarded as barbarous, and excluded from music.

There is a certain logic in the evolution of harmony and its increasing complexity. Various Oriental peoples are content to cling to the harmonious noises which, once determined upon, are decidedly complex and which make up their music. We Occidentals, however, endeavor to reconstitute the infinity of tone with completed elements, with relatively simple sounds. The natural order of our combinations moves from the simple to the complex, and after having admitted the octave, then the fourth and fifth, and finally the third, as consonances, our ear necessarily should be willing to accept the seventh, the ninth, and the eleventh.

At first Debussy appeared to be no more than a revolutionary, an anarchist. He was reproached with writing music which was no music, since it violated all accepted rules. Is it necessary to recall that rules are only developed after the event, by the analysis of the masterworks of the past, and that they are modified whenever an innovating genius creates a form of beauty hitherto unknown?

War was declared at the same time on a very individual conception of music ascribed to Debussy, one designated by the name of *verticalism*. The whole interest of ancient music lay in the melodic line, deployed in the measure and read *horizontally*. It was claimed that the entire interest in Debussyan music lay in its agglomerations of simultaneous sounds, vanishing at the very moment of their birth, and which were read *vertically*.

The conclusion was drawn that Debussy cared little for continuity in his inspirations, little for sequence, for coherence in the presentation of his ideas, composed by notation of the instantaneous. The concealed interconnection between his only apparently disjointed elements was not sensed. Yet harmony of line and design is not the only one: there is also one of tones, of colors, of values.

And besides, all those formulas by means of which Debussy's

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critics at first endeavored to define his style fell short of the mark. In reality, Debussy destroyed nothing, he gave up nothing. He did not break with tradition. Debussy, according to the dictates of the moment, made use of all the resources already acquired by musical art. In his own manner he was well able, for example, to develop the themes in his *quartet*, which is "cyclic" in form; to employ old consonant harmonies; to use "leading motives," as in "*Pélleas*"; lovingly to draw the outlines of a slow, extended melody with sinuous curves complaisantly spread out. He was not systematic to the degree of robbing himself of the accumulated resources of the past. Yet he threw wide the gates to the future!

* * *

For all the importance of Debussy's technical innovations, they do not comprise his whole art. The point is to understand how they are connected with his own mode of feeling, his own character, his own genius.

He was at once classed as an *impressionist*, and the word applies—if it be correctly understood. One might say, in fact, that Debussy's art is an impressionistic art, because he does not stress it, does not dwell on it, does not force it. We are affected, yet his touch is light, at times a simple allusion. He never repeats a blow which has found its mark. This makes his art appear but skin-deep, and yet it is profoundly penetrant. One must be able to grasp his meaning from a hint. It is the antipode of Wagnerian music, and of all romanticism. Debussy does not wish to be a romanticist. Yet he is infinitely the poet—a poet who does not cry out, and, perhaps, one wanting in passion. Yet he is voluptuously sensitive to every joy and every sorrow of those who surround him, and he is marvellously expert in defining the nuances of their emotions, in enjoying and suffering them himself, in translating, when necessary, the most violent passions like a faithful and sympathetic echo.

He is a dreamer who does not seem to believe in the reality of life, and lives in a dream. Even in objects themselves he seizes only an illusory semblance with which he enchants himself, and a vain and hidden charm which he discloses to us.

He indolently allows himself to drift with the capricious current of his sensations, his images, and his emotions. He does not care to build up either his life or his joys. He abandons himself to the "innocent and effortless movement of instinct." This superrefined nature is above all captivated by naïveté. And one cannot help being struck by certain analogies between this artistic attitude and certain phases of the Bergsonian philosophy.

In external actualities he is attracted by all that which is fugitive and mysterious, all that which lends itself to the ambiguity of symbolism, to the caprice of fantastic interpretation.

Nothing delights him more than that which, in inanimate matter, has a movement which assumes the aspect of life, and an illusive psychic sensibility. The water, the air, the winds, all that is fluid, all which has motion, which reflects, which flashes or caresses—especially water—appeals to him and holds his attention, and he is its incomparable poet-musician (*le Jet d'eau, Nuages, la Mer*).

Inversely, in human nature, he is especially fond of all which recalls irreflective spontaneity, involuntary movement, the instinctive reactions of scarcely organized life, a life still well-nigh unconscious of things. Hence it is that Debussy has a predilection for the child-soul (see "*Mélisande*") for all in man which partakes of the child nature, and for children themselves.

No musician has spoken better of "the little ones," and has addressed himself to them more simply, without any "writing down," without any "sentimental silliness," but with vivid, direct, intuitive sympathy ("*Children's Corner*").

Yet his is no devout soul, no religious soul predisposed to faith, bending down to other beings, in order to question their mystery. He believes only in the universal illusion.

His scepticism often inclines him to tenderness, to pity for every living being suffering from that fundamental deception life represents. His scepticism also is expressed in irony. It is an irony which is not cruel, the irony of a man who at heart is kind and simple. His malice is that of a child. At times Claude Debussy is only a big boy who likes to amuse himself. It was in such a mood that he wrote his "*Minstrels*" and "*General Lavine*."

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His inventions in this field are extremely happy, extraordinarily impulsive in concept. Their too facile successes, perhaps, in one sense, have hurt his fame. Certain critics, and with them part of the public, regard Debussy merely as the composer of these little pieces, ingenious, entertaining, and delightfully wrought, yet art works of a somewhat limited type.

They make it possible to forget that there is another Debussy, a great Debussy, a Debussy profound, capable of deploying as much power, emotion, and human feeling as the most imperious among the classics, or the most fiery of the romanticists.

This last Debussy we must seek in certain vocal numbers, such as the "*Colloque sentimentale*," in certain ones among the piano *préludes*, like the "*Des pas sur la neige*" or "*Ce qu'a vu le vent d'ouest*," in the *quartet*, in "*Pélleas et Mélisande*" and "*Saint Sébastien*," in the *nocturnes* or in "*la Mer*."

In his later years Debussy said: "The longer I live, the greater is my horror of that intentional disorder which merely deceives the ear, as well as of those odd or diverting harmonies which are purely society amusements. . . . How much one has to discover and then suppress before reaching the *naked flesh* of emotion!"

Yes, this supersensitive, this inquiring nature, this seeker, was more than a skilful inventor of unexpected sonorities, was more than the revealer of sensations not as yet experienced. He had a soul, and he appealed to the heart.

An eminent musical critic, too soon removed from this mortal stage, whose clairvoyance and penetration were universally acknowledged, and whose natural predilections, as a rule, inclined him to an art other than Debussy's, Gaston Carraud, wrote anent the revival of "*Pélleas et Mélisande*" at the *Opéra-Comique* after the war: "'*Pélleas*' henceforth will escape the adulation or mockery of fashion. It finds its way simply and directly to the heart. . . . The veritable example '*Pélleas*' set in its exquisite balance, is one of a power, depth, and prodigious spontaneity in expression, of a sensitiveness not only affected and disturbing but pathetic in the broadest and most natural manner. Its delicacy itself is powerful; its subtlety, freshness, and generosity of soul as well as of imagination. What

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it disengages, now that its notes have lost the surprising bloom of novelty, is that noble classic spirit, eternally new, which in the end always proceeds out of truly beautiful works of art, even when these contradict it."

A free spirit, if ever there was one, Debussy eludes the narrow limitations of those definitions of his talent and his art which a hasty, too often partial examination, first suggest. Capable of diverting us, or setting us dreaming, as his mood may dictate, he also has the power to unseal for us the broad, deep springs of pity and tragic awe, and to strike our soul with terror.

We do not as yet realize all that we have lost in him. Nor will we really know all that he was, and, especially, all that he may represent for humanity to come, which has no more than discovered him, until many years will have passed above his tomb, adding grandeur to his life-work and his name.

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CHAPTER XXVII

THE MUSIC OF TO-DAY

It would seem as though the terrible convulsion in the lives of the nations from which we are only slowly recovering, might sensibly have retarded, or even completely arrested artistic activity in every land. This has not been the case. In the midst of the worst cataclysms, following upon the most terrible social upheavals, there has been an extraordinary artistic ebullition in all four corners of olden Europe. A new world is in gestation, and with it is born its music, amid anguish and wretchedness, to serve the obscure destinies of the morrow.

* * *

It is in **Germany** that music to-day seems to show the least vitality. Germany is exhausted by two centuries of master-works. Among the younger artists whose efforts are noted, we find that the only names deserving mention are those of **Franz Schreker** (1878), the composer of four highly praised operas, "*Der Ferne Klang*," "*Die Prinzessin und das Spielwerk*," "*Der Schatzgräber*," and "*Die Gezeichneten*"; and **Erich Wolfgang Korngold** (1898), who at twenty-three has written many chamber-music compositions, and three operas, "*Violante*," "*Der Ring des Polycrates*," and "*Die Todte Stadt*" ("The Dead City"). Both of these composers are reproached with lack of personality, the employ of a composite style made up of borrowings from every tradition—French, Italian, and German—and of living on the past.

An eminent musicologist, after a visit to Berlin, wrote not long ago: "German music is fifty years behind the times. The classics are performed and works by a few moderns, all men of fifty or sixty. I inquired after the 'younger' composers, but no one knew them. I was told, mysteriously, that there were young persons who wished to turn everything upside down; but

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that these savages remained hidden in the depths of their forests. . . ." Thus it seems as though Germany did not dare take a step in advance. It is possible that the high flame of musical inspiration has been extinguished for some time to come in the land of Bach, Mozart, and Beethoven.

In **Austria**, on the other hand, music has retained its vitality, and Vienna possesses one of the most strange and daring artists of contemporary Europe, **Arnold Schönberg**. This composer was born in Vienna, September 13, 1874. His father was a merchant whose last thought was to make a musician of his son. Arnold Schönberg learned the violin at the lyceum. At the same time he organized chamber-music sessions with his fellow students, and had them read compositions he had written, at sight. Schönberg has preserved a predominant affection for chamber-music. At first he studied musical technic alone, then under the guidance of Zemlinsky, whose sister he afterward married. When twenty-six he wrote the "*Gurre-Lieder*" for chorus and orchestra, evidently influenced by Wagner's art, and in this youthful work already betrayed an ardent and impassionate soul. Yet Arnold Schönberg could not content himself with treading in the footsteps of Wagner and Richard Strauss. Eager for the new, he departed more and more from his original models, and soon profoundly transformed his style. Out-distancing the Russian "Five" and Debussy, he renounced in increasing measure all that remained of the classic conception of tonality in modern music. Henceforth it became impossible to say whether a theme belonged to some specific key: the sequence of tones which composed it was not related to any diatonic gamut, and it was akin only to the tonally indeterminate, the "atonal" or chromatic scale. These themes, on the other hand, were superimposed in a counterpoint whose obscure law shared in the established indifference to tonality. As to Schönberg's harmony (daring past belief), it does not seem studied or artificial for its own sake, as is the case with Debussy or the Russians, but rather is developed out of the counterpoint, after the manner of Brahms.

Schönberg's discoveries were presented successively in his "*Pelleas und Melisande*" (1904); the two "*String Quartets*," op. 7

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and op. 10 (1905-1908); the "*Kammersymfonie*" ("Chamber Symphony," 1906); "*Das Buch der hängenden Gärten*" ("The Book of the Hanging Gardens"), written in 1908, to a poem by Albert Guiraud, translated into German by Otto Erich Hartleben; "*Four Orchestral Songs*" (1913-1914), etc.

The influence Schönberg exerted upon Stravinsky and the younger French school seems undeniable.*

Hungary, too, appears to have experienced an artistic rebirth in musical art. She had always possessed a rich fund of the most original and racially flavored folk-song, yet had produced no great composers. **Liszt** did not keep faith with her; he did not found a national art in Hungary, but preferred to take his place, a leading one, incidentally, in the German romantic movement. One of Liszt's contemporaries, **Erkel**, was the most notable precursor of the contemporary Hungarian school, and produced several operas, among which "*Hunyadi*" is the most remarkable. It is young **Béla Bartók**, however, born in 1881, who has really developed a national art in his native land. His first musical impressions were derived from Brahms, Wagner, Liszt, Strauss, and from the Hungarian **Ernst von Dohnányi**. His first works—a *sonata* for violin and piano, "*Kossuth*," a programmatic symphony (1903), a *quintet* for piano and strings, a *rhapsody* for piano and orchestra (1904), a *first suite* for orchestra (1905), and some piano pieces—still owe much to Liszt and Strauss. Bartók then began to study Hungarian folk-songs. He collected quantities of the most ancient national melodies in journeys through the country, among the peasants. Some of these songs were constructed on the five-tone scale, and with rhythms singularly free. Thus coming in contact with the folk-music of his country, Bartók renewed his inspiration. He wrote his *second suite*, the "*Two Portraits*," the "*Bagatelles*," his *first quartet*, "*Two Images*," and an opera, "*Die*

* TRANS. NOTE.—In addition to the names already mentioned, those of the following members of the younger school of German and Austrian composers who, racially, may be grouped together, might be cited: WALTER BRAUNFELS, composer of "*Die Vögel*," HERMANN SCHERCHER, EDUARD ERDMANN, HEINZ THIessen, EGON WELLECSZ, WILHELM GROS, ANTON VON WEBERN, ALBAN BERG, KARL HOROVITZ the "atonlist," JOSEF HAUER, GUSTAV MRACZEK, KARL KORNAUTH, and BERNARD PAUMGARTNER.

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Burg des Herzogs Blaubart" ("The Castle of Duke Bluebeard"). These works met with lively opposition on the part of the public: their technic was altogether novel. They seemed to be both discordant and incoherent. The critics raged against the young composer. He lived through a long period of discouragement, and ceased to compose for a time, giving himself up altogether to his hobby for musical folk-lore, and placing his brilliant pianistic abilities at the service of the newer French music, completely ignored by those around him. The War of 1914 augmented his moral isolation. Nevertheless, he once more began to compose, and successively produced a ballet (*Tanzspiel*), called "*Der Hölzerne Prinz*" ("The Wooden Prince"), some *lieder*, piano pieces, and his *second quartet* (1915-1917). A polyphony conceived with extraordinary freedom dominates in these last works; the melodic lines develop without respecting any of the established rules of counterpoint, and give rise to the most unique tonal encounters. Bartók's works rank among the most significant efforts made at the present day toward a comprehensive renewal of the vocabulary and syntax of the language of music.

Béla Bartók in his own land enjoys the support of some enthusiastic admirers, among whom the talented composer **Zoltan Kodály** should be mentioned.

The **Czech school** was founded by **Smetana** (1824-1884), who wrote two *string quartets*, a piano *trio*, numerous operas, the best known among them being "*The Bartered Bride*," and "*Libussa*," the most significant, perhaps, from a nationalistic point of view, as well as a cycle of six symphonic poems, entitled "*My Fatherland*." Smetana did not make use of folk-song themes, nor had he a very individual technic; yet the national sentiment which inspired him was penetratingly emotional. Following him, **Antonin Dvořák** (1841-1904), who wrote a large number of works in every form, and notably an opera, "*Rous-salka*," calls for mention, as well as **Zdenko Fibich**. The main representatives of the Czech school at the present time are **V. Novak**,* **Josef Suk**, and **Vaclar Stepan**. These artists are en-

* TRANS. NOTE.—The name of ALOIS HABA, a pupil of Novak, who has published a *Quartet* based on the quarter-tone scale, might be added here.

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dowed with a generous sensibility. They show a predilection for the development of great tragic themes or the evocation of fantastic visions. They have not as yet entirely cast off, either as regards their idiom or the quality of their emotion, the influence of German romanticism.

In **Holland** a renovatory movement in music was outlined under the influence of **Alphonse Diepenbroek** (1862-1921), who composed church music, numerous songs, and stage music for Aristophanes's "*The Birds*," for Joost Van den Vondel's "*Gijsbreght Van Aemstel*," for Bathazar Verhagen's "*Marsyas*," and for Sophocles's "*Elektra*." Of the younger school, the names of **Dirk Schaefer** (1874), **Koeberg** (1876), **Sem Dresden** (1881), **A. Vormoolen**, and **James Zwart** (1892) might be mentioned. The last-named is a great admirer of Debussy and the modern French school.

Belgium has produced musicians who went to France to find the elements of their musical culture in that country: **César Franck**, **Guillaume Lekeu**, and **Vreuls**, the last-named the composer of two remarkable *sonatas* for violin and piano. Other Belgian composers remained in their own land, which they have tried to endow with an art truly national outside the pale of French influence. Such are: **Peter Benoît** (1834-1901), **Erasmus Raway** (1850), **Jean Blockx** (1851-1912), **Ryelandt**, **Paul Gilson**, and **Joseph Jongsens**.

The Swiss, entreated at the same time by German, French, and Italian artistic influences, have greatly exerted themselves to develop an original art of their own. In the Romance language cantons, at any rate, it has begun to show forth in the delicate, spiritual, and tender works of two musician-poets, **Jacques Dalcroze** (1865) and **Gustave Doret** (1866).^{*} We will

^{*} TRANS. NOTE.—EMILE BLANCHET, of Lausanne, who has held himself aloof from the modernist influence of the French and Belgian creative groups, and whose non-impressionistic art, which has chosen the modern pianoforte as its medium of expression, is based, according to Louis Vierne, "on a species of free, horizontal counterpoint often renewed," and a very personal employ of the keyboard tone color, also calls for mention. Another name surely should not be forgotten here, that of the French-Swiss composer ERNEST BLOCH, among whose works the "*Quartet*," orchestral "*Hebrew Poems*," Hebrew rhapsody "*Schelemo*" and "*Orientale*" show an individual trend of Hebraico-Oriental inspiration of lofty dramatic fervor.

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return to a young artist of attainment, of Swiss origin, **Arthur Honegger**, one of the group of the French "Six."

Among the **Scandinavian** musicians, **Niels Gade** (1871-1890), **Svendsen** (1840-1911), **Grieg** (1843-1907), **Sinding** (b. 1856), **Sjögren**, **Sjeldrup**, and others, the Norwegian **Grieg** is the only one who has been able to draw from the precious folk-song treasures of his native land the material for works somewhat slender, it is true, yet of great poetic charm, and with a harmonic flavor altogether novel when they were written.

Poland has always produced musicians. From the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, however, they were unable to speak the musical language of their native land. They adopted in turn the Italian and the German style. It was reserved for **Chopin** to express the soul of all Poland in his works. At the present day Polish musicians are still too willingly influenced by Germany. Such is the case with **Felicien Szopski** (1865), **Francisek Czezinski** (1867), **Gregoire Fotelberg** (1879), and **Ludomir Rozyski** (1883). There is one Polish composer from whom much may be expected, young **Szymanowski** (b. 1883), who has written compositions for violin and piano and for piano alone.*

* * *

Since the epoch of the "Five," **Russia** has not ceased to occupy a position of the first rank among the musical nations of Europe. We might mention first of all the estimable names of **Glazounoff**, **Liadoff**, **Rachmaninoff**, and **Scriabine**. To us the importance of the last-named composer seems to have been exaggerated by the majority of critics. His art is overweighted, grandiloquent, theatrical, and of very doubtful originality. This musician has, above all, the soul of an assimilator, and we might best define him as the **Tschaikovsky** of the present day.†

* **TRANS. NOTE.**—For a valuable study of **Karel Szymanowski's** achievement, aside from his compositions "for violin and piano and for piano alone," the reader is referred to **Zdzislaw Jachimecki's** "**Karel Szymanowski**" (*Mus. Quarterly*, Jan., 1922).

† **TRANS. NOTE.**—With regard to **Scriabine's** belief in the expression of sound in terms of color and vice versa, as well as his claims as a twentieth-century disciple of **Wagner** and **Strauss**, the bearer of an ethical message, **Montagu-Nathan** opines that: "To deliver judgment on the result is for

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The Russian musician who to-day outranks his peers is **Igor Stravinsky**, perhaps the most individual genius, the most powerful creator who has arisen in Europe since Debussy.

Igor Stravinsky was born in Oranienbaum, June 17, 1882. He was the pupil of Rimsky-Korsakoff. He wrote his *Symphony in E flat* (1905-1907), "*le Faune et la Bergère*," for voice and orchestra (1906), and in 1907 his "*Feu d'artifice*" ("Fireworks"), for orchestra; in 1909, came his opera "*le Rossignol*," and in 1910, his "*l'Oiseau de feu*" ("The Firebird"), a ballet motived by a Russian folk-tale after a Fokine scenario. "*Petrushka*" (1911) was performed in Paris with considerable success by Nijinsky in 1913, and gave rise to the most violent discussions. The further he advances, the more thoroughly this audacious composer overthrows all established traditions. His freedom in writing, from a rhythmic as well as a tonal point of view, blazes new trails along which the youngest musicians of the Viennese, Italian, English, and French schools have followed him. Yet Igor Stravinsky is not merely a prodigious inventor of technical novelties; the impetuosity, the violence, the imperious transports of his imagination impress even those who dispute his manner of procedure. And his music also pleases by reason of its brilliant color, its voluptuous languor, its penetrant charm. His art, rich in discoveries, is unstudied, or, at all events, an extraordinary spontaneity directs all search for effect from moment to moment, and leads it straight to its goal.

Side by side with Igor Stravinsky, there should be mentioned, at any rate, **Serge Prokofieff**.* Born in 1892, he studied at the Petrograd Conservatoire, as the pupil of Liadoff and Rimsky-

the moment hardly wise . . . while the theosophical content of the work may conceivably have touched a responsive chord in those conversant with and sensible to the teachings of that faith, the musical idiom is for the present so novel and so inseparable from the 'programme' of the work that it behooves those who are outside the radius of its influence to keep silence, at least until the musical manner has become sufficiently familiar to make an intellectual appeal."

* TRANS. NOTE.—Four other names also seem entitled to mention here. There is **NIKOLAS MEDTNER** (1879), an extreme modernist whose works, mainly for piano, include the "*Sonaten-Triaden*," "*Märchen Sonate*," etc.; **GNIESSEN**, who, in his "*Hymne à la Peste*" and scenic music for Euripides's "*Phœnician Women*," combines, "in the soul of an exalted priest of the Orient, the refinement of modern thought with some fine archaisms of expres-

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Korsakoff. In 1914 he wrote his "*Scythian Suite*." He then composed three operas (among them "*The Loves of Three Oranges*"), and an intensely vivid and colorful ballet, "*Chout*," or "*The Buffoon*," which was performed in Paris by the Diaghileff Company (1921). He also has written remarkable songs and piano pieces, whose art is very direct, and somewhat after the manner of Moussorgsky, in which tender plaints are mingled with sudden flashes of tragedy.

In Spain the movement for musical renovation was promoted by **Felipe Pedrell** (1841-1922), a distinguished musicologist and the composer of several operas "*Quasimodo*" (1875), "*Tasso en Ferrara*" (1881), "*Cleopatra*" (1881), "*Mazeppa*" (1881), a vast trilogy, "*Los Pirineos*" (1891), and several symphonic poems; and **Albeñiz** (1860-1909), who, on themes borrowed from Spanish folk-lore, wrote delightful fantasies, among them a well-known collection for piano, the "*Iberia*." The art of **Granados** (1868-1916), closely akin to that of **Albeñiz** is perhaps less outstanding in flavor. Among the musicians inspired by the example of their brilliant elder brethren we might mention in particular **Joaquin Turina** (1881), and **Manuel de Falla** (1876). The last-named is the composer of the lyric dramas, "*la Vida breva*" (1914) and "*El Amor brujo*" (1915), and of a ballet, "*El sombrero de tres picos*" ("The Three-cornered Hat"), produced in Madrid (1920), a symphonic suite, "*Noches en los jardines de España*" ("Nights in the Gardens of Spain"), and of especially engaging melodies, all works which display undeniable individuality. Finally, the recent younger Spanish school includes the names of **Oscar Esplà**, **Salazar**, **Gerhard**, and **Mompou**.

Contemporary Italy has brought forth only "verists," and the disinterested efforts of a few sincere artists to lead the music of their natal land back to those old traditions which established its glory, deserve notice. First of all, **Don Lorenzo Perosi** (1872), erstwhile choir director of Saint Mark's, then of the Sistine "sion"; **MYASKOVSKI**, whose Slavic energy and melancholy are expressed in his songs, his symphonies, and his symphonic poem, "*Alastor*"; and **NIKOLAS OBOUKHOFF**, a religious mystic, who uses music as a medium for the expression of his philosophy, in vast liturgic poems such as "*The Book of Life*," in a completely atonal manner.

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Chapel, endeavored to rediscover a breath of that poetic and mystic inspiration which animated Palestrina and Carissimi. Unfortunately, his decidedly composite style abounds in awkward turns and weaknesses. Besides, and more important, we have such men as **Pizetti**, also known as **Ildebrando da Parma**, **Alfredo Casella**, **Santoliquido**, **Alberto Gasco**, **Francesco Malipiero**, **Franco Alfano**, and **Castelnuovo Tedesco**. These composers turn preferably to chamber and symphonic music, long neglected in Italy. Nearly all of them, evidently, have been influenced by the French school, especially that of Claude Debussy. It is necessary to rely upon some model in order to learn how to become one's self, and there is no creation which does not presuppose preliminary imitation. This youthful Italian school will in course of time free itself from its earlier leaning toward French art. Its members already have at times given proof of independence and originality. The outstanding personalities among them are unquestionably **Pizetti** and **Malipiero**. The first often reveals himself as a delicate melodist; he offers themes extremely pure in outline, which exhale a penetrant poesy. The second is a remarkably skilful manipulator of timbres, of tone-colors, an impressionist of harrowed sensibilities, in turn fine and subtle and buoyant, sombre and fantastic.

England, so fecund in musical activities up to the end of the seventeenth century, activities which seemed to languish and die away after the death of Purcell, to-day possesses an important group of composers. The "Musical League," founded in 1909, includes the names of **Edward Elgar**, **Percy Grainger**, **Cyril Scott**, **Joseph Holbrooke**, **Bell**, **Frank Bridge**, **Frederick Austin**, **Vaughn Williams**, **Arnold Bax**, **Lord Berners**, **Goossens**, **Arthur Bliss**, and others.

These musicians have evinced a meritorious ardor and boldness in writing in all the forms, and their zeal already has had the happiest consequences. Day by day the English school assumes greater importance in the musical life of Europe. The last comers are, perhaps, the most interesting: **Lord Berners** claims attention owing to a most agreeably entertaining ironic vein; **Eugene Goossens** by his gift of poetic feeling and delicate freshness; **Arthur Bliss** by his inquiring spirit and his audacities.

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The modern English school first chose for its models the German masters of the nineteenth century, notably Brahms. Since the last ten or fifteen years, however, it has drawn inspiration principally from the French masters, Claude Debussy in particular.

* * *

Whatever may be the riches of Russian art, whatever the importance of the promises held forth by the art of Austria or Hungary, it may be affirmed that with regard to the value, abundance, and variety of its productions, France to-day takes first rank among the musical nations of the entire world.

The French dramatic stage possesses a repertoire which, aside from popular works like "*Manon*," "*Carmen*," or "*Louise*," comprises others of lofty significance, such as "*Fervaal*" (1897), "*l'Étranger*" (1903), "*la Légende de Saint-Christophe*" (1920), by Vincent d'Indy; "*Pélleas*" (1902), by Claude Debussy; "*Ariane et Barbe-Bleue*" (1907), by Paul Dukas; "*Pénélope*" (1913), by Gabriel Fauré; "*Bérénice*" and "*Guerccœur*," by Albéric Magnard.

In addition to these great names there should not be forgotten those of Guy Ropartz, composer of "*Pays*," of Bachelet (1864), who wrote "*Scemo*," and Mariotte (1875), "*Salomé*" (Lyon, 1908, Paris, 1910), of Silvio Lazzari, composer of "*la Lépreuse*," of Déodat de Séverac, composer of "*Cœur de Moulin*," and of Georges Huë, who wrote "*le Miracle*."

Nor should two charming musical comedies, "*l'Heure espagnole*" by Maurice Ravel, and "*Marouf*" (1914), by Henri Rabaud (1873), be omitted.

On the other hand, in the field of symphonic and chamber-music, aside from the composers already mentioned, we also must cite the classic composer Gédalge, the Frankist or d'Indyist Augustin Savard, Samazeuilh, Witkowski, and Jean Cras, the Fauréian Roger Ducasse, the Debussyist Louis Aubert. Caplet, and Le Flem—and Charles Koechlin.

A few independents should not be neglected, notably Fanelli, whose curious orchestral investigations bear witness to genuine talent and an entire lack of genius, and Paul Dupin (1865), who,

on the other hand, is only wanting in the gift of working up inspirations showing forth a genuinely tender and poetic genius. Paul Dupin is self-taught, and never wished a teacher. He is ignorant of all which may be taught with regard to music, and clings to his ignorance. At that, a musician may allow himself the luxury of absolute ignorance with respect to technical traditions. In such case, however, he should be able to find within himself resources adequate to establish an individual technic of his own. Paul Dupin's music almost invariably conveys the impression of a hasty improvisation, with all the consequent awkwardness, gaps, and incoherences. Notwithstanding, its accents, penetrant in their simplicity, sweetly emotional, warmly tender and gravely melancholy, often move us. The best pages which Paul Dupin has written are his songs, "*Claire de lune religieux*" (1893), "*Pauvre fou qui songe*" (1897), "*la Légende du pauvre homme*" (1897), "*Au crépuscule*" (1908), "*Prélude d'automne*" (1909), and some curious canons, three-part, four-part, and five-part, for the voice.

What we must now consider, however, in French music of the present day, is the movement which irresistibly leads it to metamorphose its means, spirit, and style, by abandoning the paths traced by a d'Indy, a Fauré, and a Debussy.

Maurice Ravel (1875) was at first able to pass for a faithful disciple of Debussy. He made the same use of sevenths, ninths, and elevenths in free concatenation. He showed the same leaning toward delicate sonorities, effects of vaporous envelopment. Yet, little by little, behind these superficial analogies, profound differences were recognized. The composer of "*Schéhérazade*," of the "*Histoires Naturelles*," of the "*Rapsodie espagnole*," of the quartet the trio, of "*Daphnis et Chloé*," is not a dreamer nor a mystic. His image of things is fixed. His art, clear-cut and precise, leaves heart and imagination only a limited field for development. Some works, such as the "*Sonatine*" or the "*Tombeau de Couperin*," are directly inspired by the genius of the eighteenth-century French masters. With Maurice Ravel, logic, order, all the qualities dear to the classics once more gain an importance they seemed to have lost, and which removes us from impressionism.

Albert Roussel (1869) was trained in the *Schola Cantorum*, under the severe discipline of Vincent d'Indy. Yet the austere musical logic there taught him is made to serve the purposes of an impressionist soul. Hence results a singularly enjoyable contrast between a very lively and mobile sensibility, a very fanciful imagination, and the rigidity of the framework in which both are expressed. The composer of the *piano suite*, the *trio*, the *sonata* for violin and piano, the "*Poème de la Forêt*," the *Evocations*, for chorus and orchestra, of the "*Festin de l'Araignée*," is an admirable landscape artist, who improves the opportunities offered by scenic Nature to abandon himself to poetic dreams, at times well-nigh hallucinatory in intensity. Thus, in certain respects, Albert Roussel displays the Debussyian spirit. Yet if his vigor is on occasion somewhat sapless, his incisive accent, his wish to construct, draw a sharp line of distinction between Claude Debussy and himself. In one phase of his talent, by his liking for counterpoint, for the development of themes, for musical architecture, he prepares the way, after his own fashion, for a return to those definite forms characteristic of all the younger school.

Déodat de Séverac (1873-1921), like Albert Roussel, studied music at the *Schola Cantorum*. He is in no wise a Franckist, a builder of vast sonorous edifices. In his piano suites, "*le Chant de la terre*," "*En Languedoc*," "*En Cerdagne*," we find an extremely personal feeling for Nature, charm and tenderness, and, above all, an evident predilection for effects of light and color, together with a penetrant perfume racy of the soil. He is the musician of the sun in its zenith, and the fair singer of the noon. His music is simple, essentially "melodic," and, while it is rich in agreeable harmonies, "verticalism" has no place in it. He gives us no half-tone effects, but in nearly every case light unshadowed. His was another preparation for that reversal of method represented in the work of our most recent innovators.

Florent Schmitt (1870) does not escape the influence of Debussy, yet he only retains certain among his procedures. The composer of the "*Quintet*," of the "*Psaume 46*," and "*La Tragédie de Salomé*" delights above all in translating violent

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emotions into tone. He can be harsh, rise to great tragic outbursts. He strikes hard. His idiom, after "*Pélleas*," astounds us with its undeviating frankness and, on occasion, even brutality. He heralds forth a new epoch. Like him, the majority of younger French musicians show, above all, a taste for force and splendor, and pay less attention to ingenuity or depth.

A new French school, in fact, began to develop during the very course of the War of 1914. It turns its back on all romanticism and all impressionism. It insists especially on the example of an **Erik Satie**, and is more or less subject to the influence of **Schönberg** and **Stravinsky**. It claims to achieve realism and the classic spirit. It does not fear harshness: "To be truthful, one must be hard." It makes greater use of counterpoint than of harmony, and tries to write its works in clearly drawn lines. It dares the most audacious superimpositions of sounds, renouncing all laws of ancient tonality. It draws inspiration from every manifestation of life, at times even the most vulgar, and delights in celebrating gaiety, joy, and laughter, rejecting only the bleak meditations of plaintive pessimism.

These, however, are no more than general ideas, and they have been understood and applied in many divers ways by the young artists whom it has become the custom to call the group of the "**Six**."

Louis Durey (1888) is known particularly because of his "*Épigrammes de Théocrite*" and his "*Poèmes de Pétrone*," though he also has composed instrumental chamber-music. He lacks the harshness of most of his friends. He is a refined spirit, captivated by lines simple, elegant, and pure, capable of noting with the greatest delicacy the subtle shadings of an ultrarefined poesy without any nebulous envelopment, but with precise delineation, and in a tint invariably clear and luminous.

Arthur Honegger (1892), above all, is the symphonist of the group. He has composed chamber-music (instrumental, in particular), orchestral music, and a religious drama, "*le Roi David*." His works are solidly built, with a well-nourished and closely written contrapuntal tissue. His music stifles one at times, since it is somewhat lacking in air. It is a harsh, bitter idiom,

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yet one whose strength makes itself felt; at times deeply emotional, very troubling, and expressing poignant solicitude.

The output of **Darius Milhaud** (1892) is extraordinarily abundant and varied. It testifies to a rich spontaneity and a remarkable talent for improvisation, which the young composer often abuses. Four *string quartets*, several *sonatas* for piano and for piano and violin, numerous songs, orchestral pieces, and scenic music for Paul Claudel's translations of Æschylus's "*Agamemnon*" and "*Choëphores*" might be mentioned. Darius Milhaud, whether he wishes or no, is a romanticist. He is the musician of rage, hatred, despair, terror, of all the passions carried to paroxysm. This does not prevent him, on occasion, from writing charming idyls in a gentler key, and, after the manner of all romanticists, he likes to abandon himself to his dreams. Yet it is in these gentle interludes that one senses the tempest preparing. At times he employs irony, and uses it with ferocious cruelty. Darius Milhaud's works are very unequal, yet he has written admirable pages. These must be sought for especially in his "*Poèmes juifs*," the "*Quatre poèmes de Léo Latil*," the "*Quatre Poèmes de Paul Claudel*," and the "*Choëphores*."

The music of **Georges Auric** (1899) scintillates with Parisian wit and spirit. It is to be regretted that it often devotes itself to the comment of "poems" somewhat too facile in fancy. Save his scenic music for Molière's "*les Fâcheux*" (1921), Auric as yet has written only short pieces, somewhat forced in their playfulness. At all events they reveal qualities of sobriety, delicacy, mordancy, and color, which it is to be hoped may soon be put to worthier ends. In this connection the music for "*les Fâcheux*" is of happy omen.

Francis Poulenc (1899) has written a "*Rapsodie nègre*," a *sonata* for piano, four-hands, a *sonata* for two clarinets, "*le Bestiaire ou Cortège d'Orphée*," a *suite* for piano, *et al.*, all works of a somewhat rudimentary art, made up of insistences and repetitions whose progress is not unaccompanied by monotony. Yet their sonorities are new and engaging. At times they voice a most touching sentiment of melancholy; but in most cases a strong and sane joyfulness.

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The group of the "Six" also includes Mlle. **Germaine Tailleferre**, who seems to be gifted with pleasing talent.

Besides these "Six," many other seekers for the new might be mentioned, notably **Roland Manuel** and **Migot**. Yet we must call a halt, we cannot accumulate proofs of the vitality of the young neo-French school *ad infinitum*.

What will the efforts of these courageous champions, who, from the very first have affirmed their hope of outdistancing, or at all events equalling, their elders, give us? It would be foolhardy to prophesy. Enough to point out with what ardor they have set to work, without one backward glance, and how full of faith, courage, and life they are.

Thus, taking into consideration only the main currents which have directed the general evolution of music, a new age begins with the declining years of the nineteenth century. France was formerly—until toward the middle of the sixteenth century—the great musical nation, whose example was imitated, and whose lessons were followed in every land.

It then made way for Italy.* Germany in turn came to rule the world's musical destinies. Yet the hegemony which she held with so incomparable a splendor, from the end of the eighteenth century on, escaped her grasp in the last third of the nineteenth: her freedom at present is fettered by the oppressive cult of a past overburdened with masterpieces. France has taken possession of the abandoned sceptre. France, rejuvenated, restored by the long indifference of a restful idleness,† at last moved forward, drawing the other nations in her train, toward regions unexplored in beauty's infinite domain. Again she has rediscovered her racial qualities, that spirit clear and alert, that idealism lofty and vigorous, that infallible vision of her goal and promptitude in its attainment with sure and daring flight, which mark all her enduring achievement.

* I do not forget Lulli, Couperin, nor Rameau. Yet the influence of the Italian opera was incontestably predominant in Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, until the advent of Gluck and Mozart.

† I allude to the century from the death of Rameau to the première of "*Faust*." The exception of Berlioz proves nothing to the contrary. He did not awaken France from her musical torpor.

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CHAPTER XXVIII*

MUSIC IN AMERICA

America, whose entire culture, musical and otherwise, has been derived from European sources, has not as yet perfected the development of a "national" school in either its northern or southern hemisphere, though recent tentatives in that direction have been full of promise. This is especially true of the United States, which presents the greatest amalgamation of individual racial factors. Certain distinctly American musical ideals, and certain American folkwise types are tending to become traditional, however, and with the increasing spread of effort and appreciation bid fair to supply the foundation for a representative national art.

* * *

American music in its beginnings was altogether European. The hymns of the Puritan Colonists of New England and the English secular songs and early ballad-operas which the Colonies, together with so many other features of their social and intellectual life, took over from the mother country, supplied American musical needs, sacred and profane. Musical entertainments and the ballad-opera appear in the Colonial cities as early as 1731 (Boston, 1731; Charleston, New York, 1736; Philadelphia, 1750; Savannah, 1756; Providence, 1762; Princeton, 1774). The *first American ballad-opera*, written but not performed, was "*The Disappointment*" (1767), whose libretto, by Andrew Barton, was so full of allusions to prominent Philadelphians that its presentation was abandoned.

Francis Hopkinson (1737-1784), who wrote the secular song, "My days have been so wondrous free," is generally regarded as *the first American composer*; while in hymnology *James*

* This chapter has been added by the translator to M. Landormy's work, as a complement needed by the American reader as well as of general interest to others.

Lyon (1735-1794), the musical tanner *William Billings*, a rough pioneer of good church music and the first to use the pitch-pipe in the United States, *Andrew Law*, and *Daniel Read* carry us over into the era of national independence. It was during the pre-Revolutionary period that the germs of American folk-song were sown. To the lands along the Mississippi the negro slaves brought echoes of primal African folk tune, the rivermen and *voyageurs* developed occupational chants, and the mountaineers of the Appalachians preserved the traditional ballads of their English home country. In New Orleans a Creole music was to be born of the mixture of Spanish, French, and negro elements; while in the missions and *haciendas* of the Californian royal grants the Spanish musical influence made a definite impress. The War of Independence itself, musically speaking, merely led to the adoption of "*Yankee Doodle*" as a national song and a possible improvement in American band music due to Hessian military bandsmen captured at Trenton, and who settled in the country with their instruments.

The national unification of the erstwhile Colonies, however, opened the way for greater musical activity. From the War of Independence to the Civil War was a time of musical as well as national growth and development. French opera had already been a feature of New Orleans's social life during the latter part of the eighteenth century (in 1791 a French company from Santo Domingo gave performances there), and in 1810 Rossini's "*Barber of Seville*" was heard for the first time. In New York "*The Beggar's Opera*" was given for the first time in the Nassau Street Theatre, in 1750; and in the old Park Theatre, New York's first actual opera-house, its boxes "like pens for pigs, with seats mere boards, with other boards, shoulder-high, for back-rests"; and in other theatres Italian opera in general and Rossini and Mozart in particular flourished from 1825 to 1848. Yet, though performances of opera and oratorio (the latter, especially, in Boston) were given in a few leading cities, it was not until the German Revolution of 1848, which brought a large number of trained musicians to the United States, that European musical art exerted much influence on American musical progress.

Thenceforward, to the beginning of the Civil War, there is a

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steady upward trend in musical development. In the South, during the golden ante-bellum days, the wealthy Louisiana and Mississippi planters flocked to New Orleans during the winter with their wives and daughters. There was opera three evenings a week, and after the performance a great swinging dance floor was let down over the parquet, gentlemen being searched for concealed weapons before being allowed to dance. In the Northern cities, New York in particular, there was a continual succession of European virtuosos, singers—Barnum exploited Jenny Lind and Jumbo impartially—violinists, and pianists; there were Havana, Italian, and German light-opera companies, native and foreign choral societies. Swiss bell-ringers, Tyrolean male choruses and light dance orchestras competed with the pseudo-negro minstrel singers, whose ballads, written by white composers, struck a popular note both in the North and South. New York witnessed *the first American opera*, "*Leonora*," by W. H. Fry, at the Astor Place Opera-House, in 1848; while "*Rip Van Winkle*," by Bristow, the first American opera *on an American subject*, was heard in Niblo's Gardens, in 1845.

The original creative impetus in music as well as in science, literature, and the other arts, was making itself felt in the United States. **Stephen Collins Foster** (1826-1864), in those naïve ballads which have something of the plantation spirit without being plantation melodies, offered *the first American folk-songs*, his plaintive and sentimental style being copied by other contemporaries. **Louis Moreau Gottschalk** of New Orleans (1829-1869) also produced his characteristically *Creole* piano compositions. The period was a formative one, and pioneer work was being carried on everywhere and in every direction. Though Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Italians—among the last *Da Ponte*, Mozart's librettist, a link with the eighteenth century past—played a part, German musicians were principally concerned in the musical organization of the country. The year 1800 initiated the founding of the piano-making and musical-instrument-making industries on a large scale, with a corresponding effect on the general interest in instrumental music. The Boston *Handel and Haydn Society* had been founded in 1815, and the *Musical Fund Society* of Phila-

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delphia in 1820; in 1854 the New York *Philharmonic Society*, the first notable American orchestra, was established, its performance of the "*Tannhäuser*" overture of Wagner, in 1855, first introducing the latter's music to America. Concerts of vocal and instrumental music became increasingly frequent, and the American music publisher entered the field, the pioneer house being the Oliver Ditson Company (1823). **Lowell Mason** (1792-1872) improves New England psalmody, and **John Knowles Paine** (1839-1906) appears as one of the first American composers thoroughly equipped to write in the larger forms of the symphony and opera. The Civil War, though it called forth and popularized some of the best-known American patriotic songs, notably "*Marching through Georgia*" and the Confederate "*Dixie*," as well as other marching and battle melodies which remain national property, represents a term of years during which music existed only as an incentive to military ends and aims, and was necessarily relegated to the background. It was succeeded, however, by a period of intensive musical activity, during which the artistic development of centuries was crowded into decades.

* * *

After the Civil War heightened interest in both sacred and secular music was manifested by numerous practical and æsthetic developments, as a more general and thorough study and cultivation of music began to show results. Church-choir singing was improved in quality of performance and character of literature. The increasing number of music conservatories and music-schools, as well as of private teachers of music testified to an increasing appreciation of the art. Music begins to make its appearance in the curriculums of the public schools, and chairs of music are endowed in colleges and universities, which accept musical attainment as a qualification of admission to their courses. Ambitious American students go abroad to study at the great European musical centres, Leipsic in particular. *Mammoth music festivals* are a feature of this period, with Patrick Sarsfield Gilmore as the leader of Gargantuan military bands, and the greatest European virtuosos, vocal and

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instrumental, find the United States a rich field for exploitation in concert tours.

Theodore Thomas (1835-1905), conductor of the orchestra which bore his name, *popularized the orchestral concert* and the symphonic music of the great masters throughout the United States, and his example was followed by others; the *Boston Symphony Orchestra* coming into its deserved prominence among other organizations. Opera, first in the Academy of Music, then at the Metropolitan (1883), developed into a brilliant permanent social as well as musical feature of New York life. Professional chamber-music ensembles, notably the **Mendelssohn Quintet Club** (1849), and the **Kneisel Quartet** (1886), laid the foundation for the present wide-spread cult of chamber-music in East and West; secular choral societies—female, mixed, and male—were organized in a number of cities; and American singers, pianists, and violinists appear with success on the operatic stage and in concert, abroad as well as in their native land.

Coincident with this steadily increasing deploy of interpretative musical activity was the rise of the American composer. Together with *Paine, William Wallace Gilchrist, Frederick Grant Gleason, Charles Crozat Converse, Adolph M. Foerster, Frank Van der Stuken, S. G. Pratt, L. A. Coerne*, and others cultivated the symphonic forms and opera; while *Dudley Buck, C. Whitney Coombs, Harry Rowe Shelley, and John Hyatt Brewer* turned their attention mainly to sacred choral music and song.

The names of **Arthur Foote**, b. 1835 (fine chamber-music, symphonic numbers and songs); **George Whitfield Chadwick**, b. 1854 (*symphonic sketches*, and poems, cantata "*Judith*"); **Horatio William Parker** (1863-1919), whose fame principally will rest on his oratorio, "*Hora Novissima*," rather than on his opera "*Mona*"; **Edgar Stillman Kelley**, b. 1857 (notable symphonic works, especially the "*New England Symphony*," and an extended oratorio, "*The Pilgrim's Progress*"); and **Henry Hadley**, b. 1871, with operas, among them "*Cleopatra*," and numerous symphonic and choral works and songs to his credit, stand out.

Besides Paine, Hadley, and Parker, more serious original American opera has been represented by *Victor Herbert* (various

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scores, notably "*Natoma*," Spanish and California Indian in color); *Walter Damrosch* ("*Cyrano de Bergerac*"); *Reginald de Koven* (the romantic genre, especially "*Robin Hood*," "*Rip Van Winkle*," "*The Canterbury Pilgrims*"); *Frederick Shepherd Converse* ("*The Pipe of Desire*," "*The Sacrifice*"); *Charles Wakefield Cadman* ("*Shanewis*"); *John Adam Hugo* ("*The Temple Dancer*"); *Arthur Nevin* ("*Daughter of the Forest*"); *J. C. De Breil* ("*The Legend*"); *Frank Patterson* ("*The Echo*"); *Theodore Sterns* ("*The Snowbird*").

Even a merely tentative list of contemporary American composers of note must include the names of *Rubin Goldmark*, *Howard Brockway*, *Daniel Gregory Mason* (equally prominent as composer and a musicologist, and the author of valuable musical works), *Henry Holden Huss*, *Alexander Russell*, *David Stanley Smith*, *Carl Deis*, *Arne Oldberg*, *George F. Boyle*, *Rosseter Gleason Cole*, *Henry Clough-Leigher*, the late *Louis Campbell-Tipton*, *William Arms Fisher* (his *Irish songs* beautiful exemplars of original harmonic coloring in song accompaniment), *Harvey Worthington Loomis*, *Edward Burlingame Hill*, *Charles Fonteyn Manney*, *R. Huntington Woodman*, *Will C. Macfarlane*, *Alexander MacFayden*, *Edwin Hughes*, *Frank E. Ward*, *Clayton Jones*, *Sidney Homer*, *William Lester*, *Samuel R. Gaines*, *Roy S. Stoughton*, *Franz C. Bornschein*, *Eric Delamater*, *Edward Shippen Barnes*, *James P. Dunn*, and, among women, *Mrs. H. H. A. Beach*, *Gena Branscombe*, *Fay Foster*, and *Margaret Ruthven Lang*.

Among American lyricists **Ethelbert Nevin** (1862-1901), holds a place apart, and heads the list of those composers of the more artistic type of direct lyric melody which includes *Charles Gilbert Spross*, *Oley Speaks*, *W. H. Neidlinger*, *W. C. Hammond*, *W. Franke-Harling*, *J. C. Bartlett*, and many others.

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Despite the number of specifically individual developments in American composition represented by the above-mentioned musicians, reflecting various creative trends, the name of *Edward MacDowell*, however, still leads those of all other native American composers in the general estimation.

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Edward Alexander MacDowell (1861-1908), a pupil of Joachim Raff, was cut off in the prime of his creative achievement by a disintegration of the brain tissue which resulted in insanity some three years before his death. This was not, however, until his symphonic compositions, piano pieces, and songs had led him to be acclaimed *the most inspired and original among native American composers*. The recognition he first won as a concert pianist in Germany and the United States was soon overshadowed by his fame as a musical creator. His career as a performer ended when Columbia University chose him for the head of its music department (1896) as "the greatest musical genius America has produced." This period, devoted to teaching and composition, and ending with his definite failure of health in 1904, was creatively his most fruitful one.

His symphonic poems for orchestra, "*Hamlet*," "*Ophelia*," "*Lancelot and Elaine*," "*Lamia*," "*The Saracens and the Lovely Alda*," the orchestral suites, especially the beautiful "*Indian Suite*," his piano concertos and sonatas, and numerous piano pieces in the smaller forms, notably the exquisite poetic miniatures contained in the collections "*Woodland Sketches*," "*Sea Pieces*," and "*New England Idyls*," as well as many songs, spontaneous and beautifully proportioned, are written in a style whose individual distinction, perhaps, has been attained by no other American composer.

Nor does MacDowell's memory and influence endure only in his compositions. After his death Mrs. MacDowell deeded the composer's summer home in Peterboro, N. H., to the MacDowell Memorial Association. An annual summer festival is given there, and in the cottage which the association has built on the estate, young American composers find opportunity for intensive creative work during the summer months among the beautiful natural surroundings which inspired the original owner.

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The American nationalist spirit as such and its peculiar cosmopolitan quality cannot be expressed fully on a basis of either negro or Indian musical folk-lore.

The influence of American folk theme on American original

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composition, however—without going into the merits of nationalism or antinationalism in music—has been a notable one. In his noblest orchestral work, the "*Indian Suite*," Edward MacDowell used the native tunes of the North American Indian thematically, nor was he the only composer to develop this primitive material in the art work.

The first historical employ of the *aboriginal Indian theme* was probably that made by *Anton Philipp Heinrich* (1781-1861), whose music, though it did not carry him beyond an imitation of Haydn, enjoyed considerable popularity in the United States between 1840 and 1850. He composed pieces scored for a large orchestra, and bearing such grandiloquent titles as "*The Dawning of Music in Kentucky or the Pleasures of Harmony in the Solitude of Nature*" (the composer, by the way, had no proper knowledge of the science of harmony), "*The Indian Carnival or the Indians' Festival of Dreams*," "*The Indians' War Council*" (for forty-one instrumental parts, a *gran concerto bellico*), "*The Manitou Mysteries of the Voice of the Great Spirit*," and others. In these compositions he did, however, use actual Indian melodies.

With MacDowell, *Frederick A. Burton* (1861-1908) put the aboriginal theme to a nobler use. He wrote a book on *American Primitive Music* (Doctor Theodore Baker's treatise, *On the Music of the North American Indians*, had already been published in 1882), and a cantata, "*Hiawatha*," its music based on Ojibway airs. The work of the late *Natalie Curtis Burlin* (*The Indian's Book: A Collection of 200 Songs of 18 Different Tribes*), of *Alice C. Fletcher* (*Study of Omagha Music*), and *Frances Densmore* (*Chippewa Music*), has been one of source compilation, principally; but following Burton, a number of American composers have successfully improved the Indian opportunity. Among them *Henry F. Gilbert* (his "*Five Indian Sketches*"), *Charles Sanford Skilton* (the "*Suite Primeval on Indian Melodies*"), *Ernest Richard Kroeger* ("*Hiawatha*"), *Carl Busch* ("*Minnehaha's Vision*"), and others have developed its color possibilities for orchestra. *Arthur Nevin* has written an Indian opera, "*Poia*," and *Arthur Farwell* has developed Western Indian themes in piano pieces ("*American Indian Melodies*,"

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"*Domain of Huracan*," "*Ichibuzzi*," "*Pawnee Horses*"). Then *Charles Wakefield Cadman* (aside from his opera "*Shanewis*," in which Indian color dominates) has won wide-spread recognition with his idealizations of original Indian tunes, Omaha, Iroquois, and Pawnee, in lyric song form. In this connection, *H. J. Stewart* (songs, "*Yosemite Legends*") and *Thurlieu Lieurance* (music drama, "*The Yellowstone*," and songs) must also be mentioned. These and other American composers have used aboriginal Indian melodies as a basis for individual art endeavor.

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Even more important than the Indian theme in the development of art music from folk-wise sources has been the *negro theme*. With the late *Henry Edward Krehbiel's* book, *Afro-American Folk-Songs*, as a point of departure, it has been a most prolific source of inspiration ever since Dvořák wrote his "*New World Symphony*." This, although the rustic airs of the Vermont hills, the ballads of Kentucky mountaineer, Pueblo cliff-dweller and Spanish-Californian, Louisiana Creole, and Western cowboy tunes (the latter, especially in fine concert elaborations for piano, "*Turkey in the Straw*," "*Sheep and Goat*," by David W. Guion, who also harks back to the negro theme in songs) have all lent themselves to artistic exploitation.

The name of **Henry Thacker Burleigh** (Spingarn medal for highest achievement during year 1916 by an American citizen of African descent) may be said to take precedence in this song-field, with numerous fine original songs and beautiful art elaborations in song form of the negro *plantation spirituals*. With Burleigh should be mentioned *R. Nathaniel Dett* (the piano suite "*Magnolia*" and the choral "*Swing Low, Sweet Chariot*"), and *Clarence White* (spiritual adaptations for violin and piano). *William Arms Fisher* has also lent the spiritual distinction in song development, and *N. Clifford Page* (who has used the Indian theme in his "*Pageant of the Pilgrims*"), has made it chorally effective in a cantata, "*Old Plantation Days*." Here, too, as a source collection, might be mentioned *Natalie Curtis Burlin's* four volumes of *Negro Folk-Songs* (1918).

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Henry Gilbert has brilliantly developed negro thematic material in his "*Comedy Overture on Negro Themes*," "*American Dances*," "*Negro Rhapsody*," as well as in a colorful symphonic poem, "*The Dance in Place Congo*"; and numerous other American composers have followed his example. *John Powell* has made a wide use of negro motives in large compositions improvisationally written, the "*Sonata Virginianesque*," for violin and piano, "*In the South*," suite for piano, and "*Rhapsodie Nègre*," for piano and orchestra; as has *Mortimer Wilson*, whose piano suite, "*In Plantation Style*," is conceived in a very modern vein.

Beside the negro spiritual, and on a lower musical plane, stands the *pseudo-negro ballad song*, with Afro-American rhythmic and vocal inflections. The extreme rhythmic derivatives of the primal African suggestion, the vocal and instrumental American *ragtime* and *jazz* genres—which, particularly in their dance forms, have attracted such prominent modernist composers as Debussy, Stravinsky, and Darius Milhaud—are characteristic musical crystallizations of the restlessness and surface emotionalism of American urban life. Their apologists find in them a legitimate expression of the American musical "soul," while to their decriers they represent a reversion to musical barbarism.

In addition to contemporary American composers who, to a greater or lesser extent, have identified themselves with the folk-wise Indian or African musical suggestion, is an important younger group, made up largely of men who have reacted in a manner more or less individual to the various *modernist currents of thought* which have developed since the last years of the nineteenth century in Europe, or who have blazed new musical trails of their own.

This group includes the impressionistic *John Alden Carpenter*, the composer of many songs, the orchestral suite, "*Adventures of a Perambulator*," and a "*Krazy-Kat*" pantomime score in which he toys gracefully with *jazz* rhythms; the subtle *Carl Engel* (the song cycle "*Five Perfumes*" and the notable "*Triptych*" for violin and piano); the late *Charles T. Griffes*, an ingenious dissonant colorist (songs, string quartet "*Sketches*

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on *Indian Themes*," sonata for flute and piano, orchestral "*Kublai Khan*"); *Leo Sowerby* (interesting chamber-music and the orchestral "*Suite of Ironics*"); *G. Bainbridge Crist* (a skillful manipulator of exotic themes); *Louis Gruenberg*, *Wintter Watts*, *Edward Ballentine*, *Blair Fairchild* (who lives in Paris), the dramatically gifted *A. Walter Kramer*, *Philip James*, *Harold Morris*, *Henry Eichheim* (an enthusiastic musical Orientalist), *T. Carl Whitmer*, *Albert Spaulding*, *Emerson Whithorne*, *Reginald Sweet*, *Richard Hammond* (interesting orchestral and song developments of Chinese color), *Eugen Putnam*, *Beryl Rubinstein*, *Bernard Rogers*, *Henry Cowell*, and *Charles E. Ives*. To these should be added the important names of such adoptive Americans as *Charles Martin Loeffler*, *Ernest Block*, *Leo Ornstein*, *Percy Grainger*, *Richard Hagemann*, and *Carlos Salzedo*.

* * *

During recent years the activities of the *Music Teachers' National Association*, "a clearing-house for the discussion of questions regarding practical system in musical pedagogy," of the powerful *Women's National Federation of Music Clubs*, the *International Composers' Guild*, the *Society for the Publication of American Music*, the *Foundation of Opera in Our Language*, and many other collective organizations for the furtherance of specific musical objects, show the increasingly important place music is taking in the national life. Civic and high-school orchestras, municipal concerts and community singing, the historic music pageant, annual music festivals and conventions in many cities, and individual concerts and recitals of every kind given throughout the country, have become commonplaces of American social existence. Since the downfall of the Austrian empire has reduced the Vienna *Hofoper* from its former high artistic estate, *New York* has definitely become the *operatic centre of the world*, while *Chicago* represents the American operatic stage in the West.

The Library of Congress, notably during the incumbency of *Oscar G. Sonneck* as musical librarian, has become the first musical reference library in the United States. The public libraries of the larger cities and the great universities devote in-

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creasing attention to their musical sections; and members of the musical faculties of the latter, notably *Waldo S. Pratt* (*History of Music*); *Edward Dickinson* (*Music in the History of the Western Church*, *The Study of the History of Music*, *Music and the Higher Education*); *Clarence G. Hamilton* (*Music Orchestration*); *Walter R. Spalding*; *Philipp Goepp*, and others, have made important contributions to musical literature. The *New York Metropolitan Museum* collection of musical instruments is considered the most valuable and comprehensive in the world.

Works by *American musical theorists* and musicologists are well represented in the catalogues of the leading American music and book publishers; and American music critics—the late *Henry Edward Krehbiel*, *Henry T. Finck*, *Richard Aldrich*, *William J. Henderson*, *Lawrence Gilman*, the late *James Gibbons Huneker*, *Gustav Kobbé*, and others—have written admirable books well calculated to popularize music. Other critics and writers of musical subjects, including *H. T. Parker*, *Philip Hale*, *Charles L. Buchanan*, *Deems Taylor*, *Carl van Vechten*, *Herbert F. Peyser*, *Charles N. Boyd*, *Louis C. Elson*, *William T. Baltzell*, *Olin Downe*, *Pitts Sanborn*, *Harry Osgood* (like *Deems Taylor*, an author-composer), *Maurice Halperson*, *Charles T. Meltzer*, *Oscar T. Thompson*, *Max Smith*, *Gilbert Gariel*, are known as contributors of articles to leading musical magazines, both in the United States and abroad. Among the more prominent of these magazines in this country are: *The Musical Quarterly* (*O. G. Sonneck*), *The Musical Observer* (*Gustav Saenger*), *The Étude* (*James Francis Cooke*), *The Musician* (*Paul Kempf*), and *The New Music Review*. The leading musical weeklies are *Musical America* (*John C. Freund*), *The Musical Courier* (*Leonard Liebbling*), and *The Musical Digest* (*Pierre V. R. Key*).

* * *

All in all, the seeds of European musical culture sown in the United States principally during the period of the Civil War, have produced a very respectable creative and interpretative fruitage. The increasing artistic reaction to distinctively American influences, not alone to varied folk-type factors but

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to characteristic nature and physical suggestions, the stimulus of historic epoch, of modern life and character, is significant. If the vast majority of the American public still prefer "the lower types of American music to the higher types," the same holds good, generally speaking, where higher art forms and more popular art are concerned, of the public of any other land. If musical popularization in the nation-wide sense, as exemplified by reproductive mechanical instruments, the musical element in the moving-picture houses, the "radio concert," is not an unmixed blessing, from various points of view, its collective effect probably outweighs its disadvantages. If American creative effort at times seems to waver between the banal and the baroque; if there appear to be a discrepancy between the cry of praise raised in behalf of American composition and the wool of its achievement; if symphonically we have too few orchestras, and operatically we prefer the less ideally artistic "star" system to the perfected operatic ensemble, the general American trend in music is, nevertheless, an upward one. Unlike Germany, we are not, to quote M. Landormy, "fettered by the oppressive cult of a past overburdened with masterpieces." While, perhaps, we may not seize at once that sceptre of musical supremacy which he so unhesitatingly awards to "rejuvenated France," our own composite racial and musical resources and idealism make it possible to look forward to "the obscure destinies" of our musical morrow with a large degree of hope and confidence. It is a hope and a confidence justified by what already has been accomplished, and is being accomplished in the United States in original musical creation and interpretation.

* * *

In **Canada**, native composition always has been quite directly influenced by England, save in the old French provinces, which still look to Paris rather than London for musical guidance and inspiration. Much has been done in the collection and exploitation of the rich treasures of French-Canadian musical folk-lore extant, and to some extent this applies to the music of the Indian tribes of Canada as well.

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In **Mexico**, where the thoroughgoing destruction of the records of Aztec civilization has left but few vestiges of aboriginal native music, the Spanish national and the French cultural influence—as elsewhere in South and Central America—have always dominated. *Melesio Morales* (1838–1908) wrote the opera “*Ildegonda*,” and founded the Mexican Conservatory. *Aniceto Ortega* (“*Guatimozin*,” 1867), *Ricardo Castro* (“*Atiz-zamba*,” 1900), and *Carlos Samaniego* (“*Netzahuacoyotl*”) offer in their operas musical reactions to the Aztec historical subject and the native theme. Perhaps the most important among Mexican composers is **Julian Carillo** (b. 1875), who has composed operas, symphonies, chamber and choral music, and written a “*Tratado sintético de Harmonia*” (1913–1915). *Eduardo Gariel* (b. 1860), was more prominent as an educator and writer than as a composer. His *New System of Harmony*, dedicated to the late *Venustiano Carranza*, when the latter was “First Chief of the Constitutionalist Army,” is based on the four fundamental chords. Other Mexican composers are: *R. Ordonez*, *R. E. Perez*, *O. Lara*, *J. Vasquez*, *R. Sanchez*. In **Cuba**, native composers, *Eduardo Sanchez Fuentes* (opera, “*Doreya*,” Havana, 1918), *Molina*, *Simons*, *Casas*, *Marin*, have developed the possibilities of the characteristic Cuban *danzon* in graceful piano pieces and songs; and the more sentimental **Puerto Rican** *danzas* have been elaborated in the same manner by native musicians of that island.

In **Haiti**, the *meringue*, equivalent of the Cuban *danzon*, with French, Creole, and negro elements, has been exploited in songs, the most popular perhaps the “*Choucouné*,” composed by *M. Monton* of Port-au-Prince, which has become a veritable folk-song. In **Martinique**, original Creole themes have been developed in piano compositions by *Marie de Virel*.

Venezuela's greatest musicians are probably the late *Teresa Carreño*, the famous concert-pianist, and **Reynaldo Hahn**, the distinguished modern French composer of operas, ballets, symphonic poems, and large choral works and songs, who, born in Caracas in 1874, was taken to Paris at the age of three, and has remained there ever since. *José Angel* is the composer of an opera, “*Virginia*,” on traditional airs. Among other com-

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posers *Villena*, *Suarez*, *Saimell*, the brothers *Hernandez* and *Monteros*, have cultivated the peculiar native dance form known as the "Venezuelan" waltz in piano elaboration.

In **Colombia**, in addition to the names of *Pedro Morales*, *Pino*, *Murillo*, and *Santos Cifuentes*, that of **Guillermo Uribe**, a gifted pupil of Vincent d'Indy, should be mentioned. Director of the National Conservatory in Bogota, he has written a number of songs, a fine sonata for violin and piano, a string quartet, and other compositions marked by a *Schola Cantorum* finish and a decidedly individual modernist flavor.

Peru, one of the greatest of the old Spanish vice-royalties, has a long record of musical cultivation. *Ferrer Soria*, *Pedro Jimeno Abril*, *Pascual Nieves*, *José Maria Filomena*, *Alomia Robles* are names calling for mention. **José Valle-Riestra** (b. Lima, 1859), a pupil of Gédalge, Paris, has contributed toward the foundation of a national school by the employ of old *Inca* Indian themes in his operas ("*Ollanta*," Lima, 1901, and "*Atahualpa*"), as well as in numerous piano compositions. In this field he has been followed by *Carlos Valderrama*, who has concertized in the United States, presenting his florid piano elaborations of Inca and Quichua melodies in the form of "*Inca Rhapsodies*," *cashuas*, *Inca dances*, and other rhythmically complex workings out of his five-tone scale material.

Chile, where the Santiago Conservatory was founded in the middle of the eighteenth century, owes much of its earlier musical development to the Argentines *Eustaquio* and *Francisco Guzman*. *M. A. Orrego*, one of the oldest Chilean musicians, *N. Sotomayor*, and others have utilized the forms of the national *tonadas* and the *zamacueca*, a species of Cordillerean fandango (which has also been exploited by European composers); while the most prominent of Chilean composers of the present day is probably **Enrique Soro**, who has written some distinctive piano music. The folk-music of **Bolivia** and **Ecuador**, allied to that of Colombia and Peru, does not seem to have awakened any notable original efforts.

In **Brazil**, the name of the nationalist composer **Antonio Carlos Gomez** (1839-1896) stands out. Best known are his operas "*Il Guarany*" (Milan, 1870) in which Amazonian Indian themes

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are used, and "*O Condor*" (Milan, 1891), the national hymn, "*Il saluto di Bresile*," and a cantata, "*Colombo*," written for the Rio de Janeiro Columbus Festival of 1892. *Francisco Braga* (the symphonic "*Maraba*"; the opera "*Jupyra*"), *Henrique Oswald Gomez*, *Villa-Lobos*, *Cantú*, as well as the promising young composer, *Francisco Mignone*, who has written an opera, "*The Diamond Contractor*," based on the historic eighteenth-century exploitation of the Brazilian diamond-mines, also deserve mention.

In the **Argentine**, as *Juan Pedro Esnaola* has shown in his "*Origines de la música Argentina*," native, African, and Spanish influences have had their share in creating national types. *Pablo Berutti* (opera, "*La Pampa*"), *Felipe Boreo* (opera, "*Tucuman*"), *Juan Moreira*, *Pascual de Rogatis*, *Alberto Williams*, *Carlos Lopez Burchado*, *Manuel Gomez-Carillo*, and *Vicente Forte* in particular, have been active in developing a genuinely national school of Argentine art, in symphonic compositions, songs, and piano pieces. *Constantino Gaito's* opera on an Italian subject ("*Fior di neve*") was well received at the *Teatro Colon* last year. Buenos Aires is, probably, the most musical city of South America, with an important opera and concert season which attracts the greatest European singers and virtuosos.

The musical influences controlling in Central and South America have been altogether different from those in the northern hemisphere. The Spanish, Italian, and French factors have been the dominant ones. In most of the South American countries, however (as in the United States), a strong trend toward the use of native Indian themes as foundation material for the creation of nationalist schools is noticeable, and, given their often colorful possibilities, these tentatives are full of interesting possibilities for the future.

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